the weekly
Standard

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How Do I Hate Thee?

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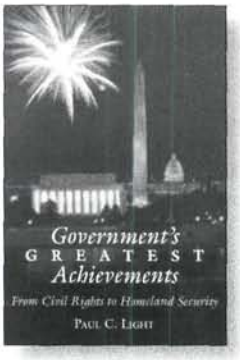

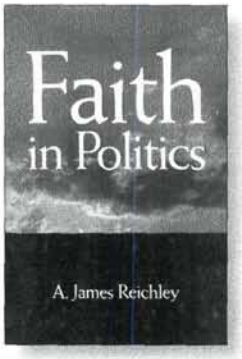

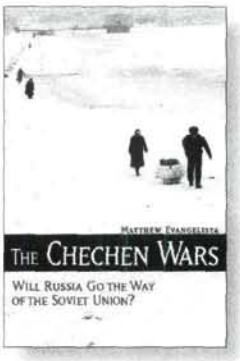

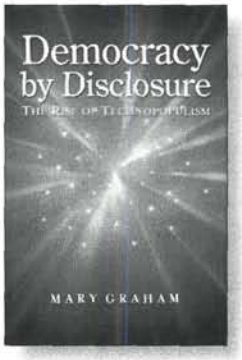

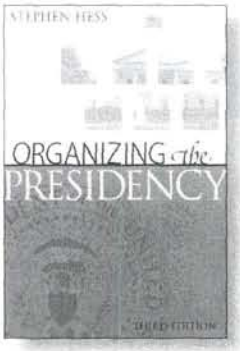

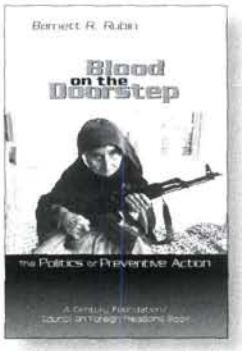

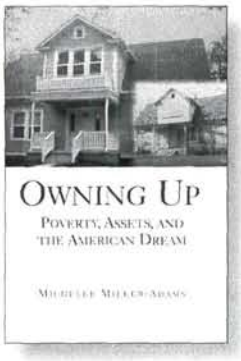

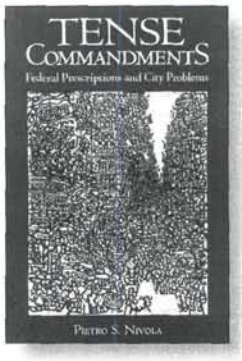

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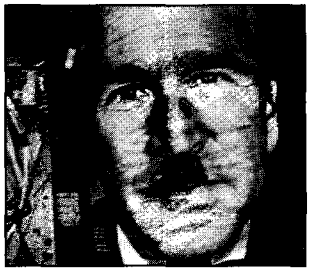

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the weekly Standard

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1700 Percent Hyped

Human Rights Watch is just out with a 41-page report on the "severe wave of backlash violence" directed against Arabs and Muslims here in the United States after last year's terrorist attacks. Though it acknowledges that federal, state, and local officials "responded quickly and vigorously to" this post-September 11 "ferocity," the organization complains that America should have been better prepared for a "1700 percent" increase in anti-Islamic hate crimes, "which included murder, assault, arson, and vandalism."

Where to begin?

First off, we suppose, it should be pointed out that Human Rights Watch's scare statistic—a 1700 percent increase!—is disingenuous. That figure is derived from the FBI's annual "Uniform Crime Reporting" tabulations, which counted 28 "anti-Islamic" bias crimes in 2000 and then 481 of them in 2001. From such a low base, of course, any numerical increase will produce a (misleadingly) gigantic percentage. But even in numerical terms, UCR hate-crime data are notoriously fuzzy; Human Rights Watch's extraordinarily sloppy researchers confirm as much in the fact-checking notes they have failed to remove from their final, published text: "JS: is it correct as edited?" And then there's this: 481 bias crimes, in a nation of 290 million people, isn't all that many. The FBI reported more than twice that number of "anti-Jewish" bias crimes in 2001, for example. Was that a "severe wave" of violence? No, it was not. Especially since the vast majority of incidents at issue, for Jews and Muslims both, were entirely non-violent.

Human Rights Watch skips rather casually over this last and—you would think—crucial detail. Its report focuses instead on a handful of specific horror stories, raising a particular eyebrow about seven murders. Three of which concededly involved no real evidence of ethnic motivation whatsoever. And one of the others involved a Yemeni gentleman shot to death while in bed with the jealous gunman's ex-girlfriend.

Even a single crime of violent bigotry in the United States would be too much to tolerate. Why is it necessary to exaggerate those few such crimes as do exist?

Especially since, when the Human Rights Watch "exposé" gets picked up by newspapers and television stations in the Arab world, nuance and underlying truth will inevitably be lost, and all that will remain are stories about the "ferocity" of American "violence" against innocent children of Allah. Once those stories start appearing, anybody want to bet what will happen? Thousands of American soldiers and civilians already risk their lives on a daily basis in the Islamic Middle East. Human Rights Watch has just made things more dangerous for them. ♦

Harvard Grows a Backbone

Congratulations to Harvard's Lawrence Summers, who is rapidly becoming THE SCRAPBOOK's favorite university president. Last Tuesday, after "discussions" with Summers's office, the Harvard English department rather abruptly canceled, and publicly apologized for having scheduled in the first place, a poetry reading by Oxford University professor Tom Paulin—which was to have taken place last Thursday. Paulin is the man who this past April told Egypt's *Al-Ahram Weekly* that American-born Jews who've settled in Israel and the West Bank are "Nazis" and "racists" who should be "shot dead." English department chairman Lawrence Buell, who had previously defended the Paulin invitation, now says his colleagues "sincerely regret the widespread consternation that has arisen."

Right. And see that it doesn't happen again. ♦

The GOP's War on Sex

Mark Morford, a columnist on the *San Francisco Chronicle*'s website and a self-described "neo-pagan gleaner of screaming delicious naked nuances," has just pulled off the political scoop of the year. Everyone else in American journalism has missed this story:

"Dark storm clouds of sadness and savage spiritual pain [have] settled in over the collective soul of the country and indeed much of the world . . . as the Republican party snatched total control of the American government," Morford writes. No, that's not the scoop; that part's right out of the *New York Times*. This is the scoop: Morford reports that the GOP has "really honestly promised to further its agenda." Which, apart from "fear" and "war" and "intolerance" and "white-power laws," turns out to include "bad sex." The new Republican Congress, Morford reveals, plans to crack down hard on anyone who "really cares about . . . authentic orgasms."

White House sources tell THE SCRAPBOOK that President Bush will wait until the Inauthentic Orgasm Act of 2003 is

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formally introduced before announcing his position on the legislation. ♦

Largent's Loss

Amid the Republican glee over this year's election, there was a loss both sad and surprising. This was the defeat of Steve Largent in the race for governor of Oklahoma. Largent, 48, is a former congressman and a member of the Pro Football Hall of Fame. And he was universally regarded as a rising star among conservatives, even a potential candidate for national office. He has a large following especially among religious conservatives.

What happened? As late in the campaign as six days before the election, Largent held an 11-point lead over his Democrat foe, state senator Brad Henry. Then a number of factors caught up with him, including a referendum on cockfighting. The question of banning cockfighting produced a huge turnout in rural Democratic counties, thus aiding Henry. (The ban, by the way, won.)

But two other factors were more important. Largent ran the sort of campaign that good government types love. He stressed substantive issues and didn't run any negative TV commercials. Allies urged him to answer the attack ads aired against him, but he refused.

The other factor was independent candidate Gary Richardson, a renegade Republican trial lawyer who spent $3 million on the race. He won only 14 percent of the vote, enough to keep Largent from winning. "I do think Gary Richardson's candidacy probably benefited me by taking votes from Steve Largent," Democrat Henry told the *Daily Oklahoman*. "It took votes away from me too." Gary Copeland of the University of Oklahoma agreed Richardson hurt Largent more. One Richardson TV ad was particularly harmful to Largent. It showed his response to a TV reporter who asked his whereabouts on September 11, 2001 (he was on a hunting trip). Largent, a devout Christian, used the word "bull—" in dismissing the question. Too bad. ♦

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Casual

Flights of Fancy

Ever since my childhood, as a traveler on hundreds of flights, I have trudged past those happy souls in the first few rows of seats, ensconced in cushioned comfort, already sipping a drink and munching on some nuts. I've watched endless times as the attendants noisily closed the curtains, which meant I could only imagine the wonders and glories going on in the first-class cabin.

My fantasies have been spurred ever onward by those television commercials featuring businessmen sleeping like sheikhs in amazing chairs-that-turn-into-beds, accompanied by joyous 18th-century choral music. And, of course, by the brilliant episode of *Seinfeld* in which Jerry and Elaine travel on the same plane from New York to Los Angeles. Jerry is in first class, where he sups and drinks to bacchanalian excess with a supermodel companion. Meanwhile, Elaine is trapped in coach between two fat people.

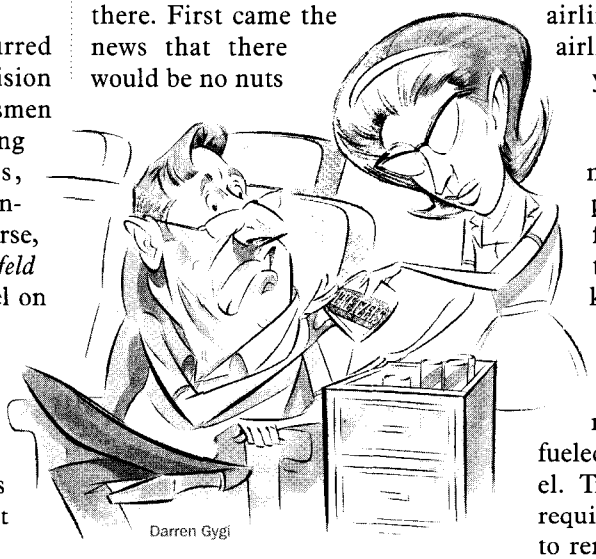
Over the years, people have sought to deromanticize first class for me: "Listen, if you don't drink, there's really no point in going first class. All you really get there is a lot of free alcohol." They told me that I had gone through everything wonderful there was to go through when I had traveled in business class—the extra leg room, the wider seats.

These efforts were for naught. My eyes remained starry, my dreams fixed on the glories of that cabin behind the closed curtain. And when I found myself the recipient of a free first-class airplane ticket a few weeks ago, I can't tell you how much I looked forward to my journey.

Disillusion, thy name is "first class."

On a bright Tuesday morning at Kennedy Airport, I boarded the plane—before everybody else! And no sooner was I on the craft than I found myself sitting in the very first row! A flight attendant took my coat and referred to me by name. And there I sat in my very large seat, smug smile on my face, as others trudged past me to endure the agonies of coach.

Alas, it was all downhill from there. First came the news that there would be no nuts in the special nut dishes that I had heard about for so long. I was, instead, handed the same chintzy bag of pretzels you get in any seat on any flight. "What happened to the nuts?" I asked.


Darren Gygi

"Somebody on the plane has a peanut allergy," the flight attendant said. One person with a peanut allergy means no nuts anywhere on the plane.

Then they offered me champagne. I dislike champagne, but this was first class, after all. I accepted. And, to my grave disappointment, I was handed a plastic cup—the same fake champagne-glass plastic cup they use to serve ginger ale to kids at a birthday party.

And on it went. Because of security precautions, all the silverware was plastic. The tablecloth used to cover the tray was nothing more than a cheap black napkin. The salad was wilted. The main course was lukewarm.

Only dessert resembled the fantasy: Ice cream sundaes, with your choice of topping. (Just like on *Seinfeld*!) So what if there were unwanted icicles sticking out of the ice cream? You can't beat a sundae, even a lousy one. And they left a plate of cookies out where we could just get up and take one whenever we wanted.

But there was not a hint of elegance. That may have something to do with the economic woes of the airline I was riding on and of the airline industry in general. When you're losing billions of dollars, elegance is the first thing to go. And given that very few business travelers these days are ponying up to pay full freight in first class, the airlines have little incentive to treat riders like kings when they're just being bumped up because of their frequent-flyer miles.

It was a fantasy of elegance, more than anything, that had fueled my dreams of first-class travel. Travel was once an enterprise requiring elegance. I am old enough to remember when people felt compelled to dress up before they could board an airplane. That seems absurd today, especially in light of the preposterously small amount of legroom and overhead space on newer aircraft. But memories of being forced as a small boy into a blazer and tie to enjoy the privilege of sitting still for many hours are part of my emotional baggage, and I've been carrying that baggage with me to this day.

The airline lost my emotional baggage when it seated me in first class. Truth to tell, I'm glad to be rid of it. Now I won't feel quite as bad when, in a few weeks, I'll have to make my way to Chicago in a middle seat.

John Podhoretz

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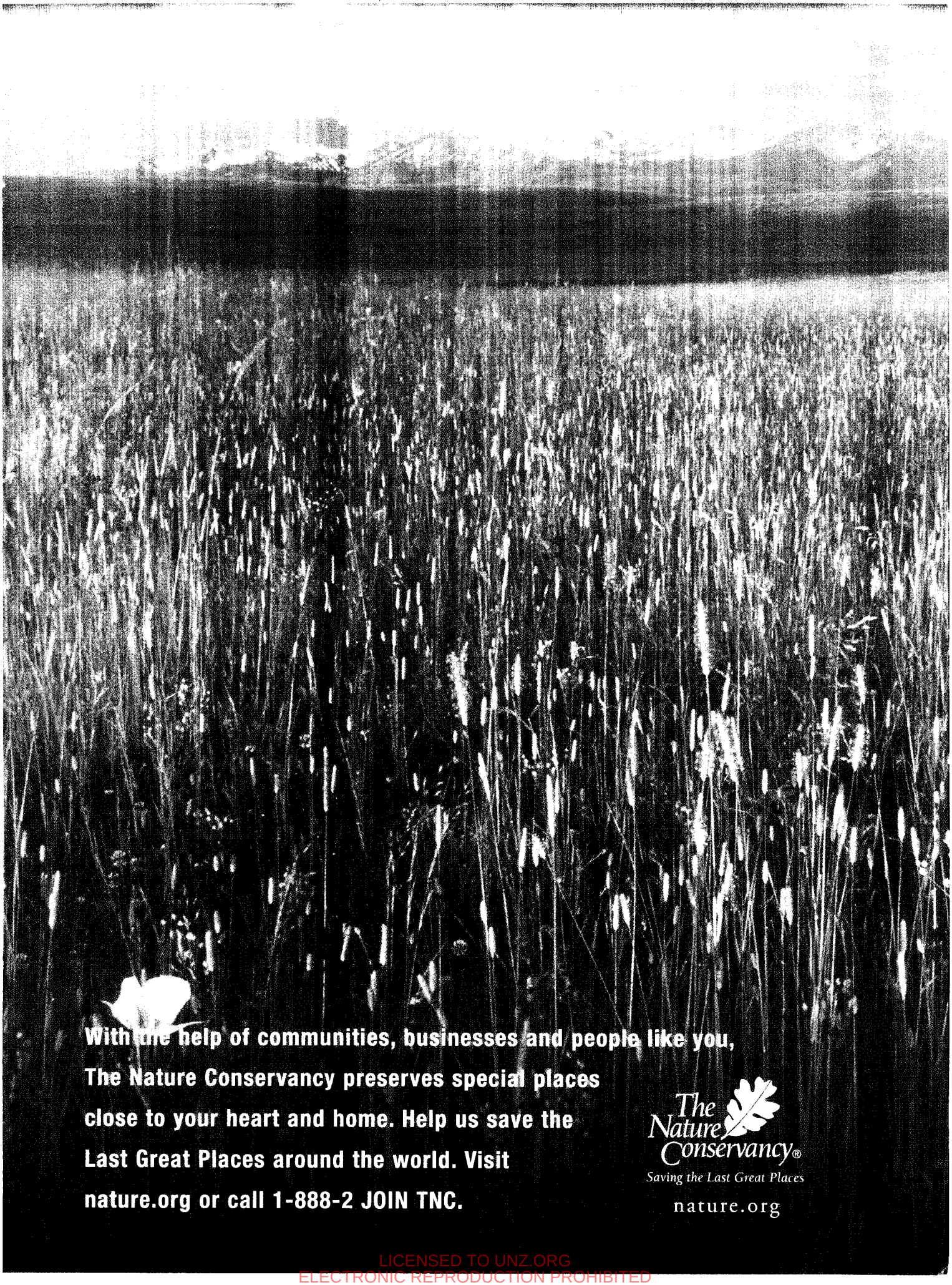

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Saddam Corleone

David Brooks's "Saddam's Brain" (Nov. 11) is absolutely brilliant. It singlehandedly changed my estimate of both Saddam Hussein and The Weekly Standard.

Brooks is right: To understand Saddam you have to understand his thinking, in particular, the philosophical ideas that motivate him. Without this, Saddam is just a Mafia chieftain out of his depth in running a country.

The comparisons to Nazism are also particularly important, because Americans have never understood the appeal of Hitler to the German people. Hitler's Pan-Germanic mysticism and its obsession with the magical power of the "blood" is unintelligible to Americans but would be immediately clear to Baathists.

Thank you, David Brooks, for the first article on Iraq that I found to be genuinely informative.

Bob Meyer
Kirkland, WA

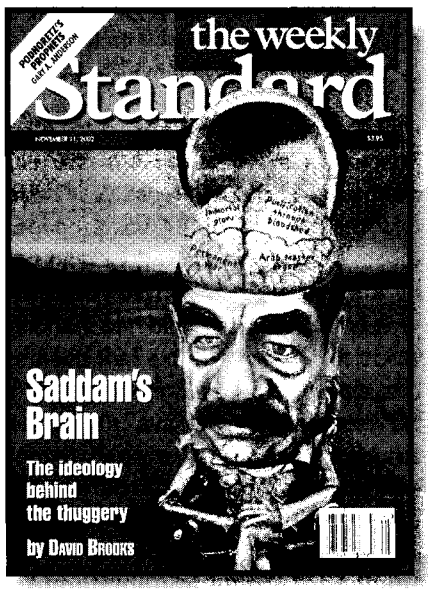
Letter from the Left

Speaking as someone who might be labeled a "Wellstone Democrat," let me say at the outset that I greatly admire Christopher Caldwell's many provocative and thoughtful essays in The Weekly Standard and elsewhere. However, I think he missed the mark in his analysis of both Wellstone's constituency and his memorial service ("Mourning in America," Nov. 11).

At the risk of stating the obvious, Wellstone's constituency was not academic leftists, but rather, the voters of Minnesota, who elected him twice to office. The distinction is crucial because a large part of Wellstone's appeal to academics and other leftists was that he had figured out a way to win electorally and thus actually exercise political power, rather than grade blue book exams. As Todd Gitlin remarked a few years ago, "The Left took over the English Department, and the Right took over the White House." I'm always baffled as to why conservatives do not seem happier than they do about the position assigned to them in this power swap. Academics, and perhaps conservative intellectuals, like the lefty scholars themselves, commit the fallacy of assuming that universities are more influential than they are. They can barely empower themselves in faculty meetings, let alone in the halls of the United States Senate. Wellstone could, and that's one reason he is quite literally irreplaceable to the Left.

Additionally, the countless rank and file of labor unions and their leaders who worked with and admired Wellstone would, by themselves, swell the ranks of his supporters far beyond the literature departments of the Ivy League. I work in the labor movement and know this to be true.

As for the memorial, yes, of course, it was tasteless to boo some of the



Republicans who attended. But leaving aside the fact that the boos seemed to come from a minority of those present, please remember that there were 20,000 people at the memorial! Its atmosphere was, therefore, more like a ballgame than a funeral precisely because Wellstone was one of the few politicians of either party who elicited genuine passion and devotion from his constituents. It obviously was not the intention, nor could it have been, of the Minnesota Democratic party to encourage or sanction those boos. As for Rick Kahn, nobody knew what he was going to say until he said it—the family only told him to "speak his heart." Yes, I heard him solicit the support of the Republicans in attendance, but it struck me as just plain goofy, even bizarre, but certainly not "Maoist."

Paul Wellstone, who thrived on the democratic rough and tumble of contested politics, would have probably found it richly ironic that one of his most fervent supporters asked others to give up their worldview in order to support his—but that's just the point. It was ironic, but hardly sinister.

Richard Yeselson
Washington, DC

Killing Christians

Amitai Etzioni in "Killing Christians" (Nov. 11) earns my gratitude. He flags the real focus of the conspiracy underpinning the aroused Islamic world: The infidels in "Kill the Infidel!" are Christians and Jews and, by extension, Western civilization as we know it. The intellectual Left in our academic world, abundantly quoted and abetted by much of the American media with the broadest general reach, helps to spin the yarn of Islamic victimhood and Western guilt. This intellectual Left either does not grasp or simply refuses to admit that the conflict between the Palestinians and the Israelis is merely a sideshow and a precursor of the holocaust in planning.

Radical Islam detects and exploits the Christian West's fault lines, the worst of which is pervasive and systematic anti-Semitism. It may be that these Islamic radicals, who are moving relentlessly into Europe and America, stimulate historical hatreds, and thus find willing executioners in the media to further their purposes. The assault on Israel, as Etzioni states, gets them attention, and obscures the real danger the West faces.

Fred Ross
Middletown, OH

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Easy Does It

Trent Lott, the Senate Republican leader, believes President Bush won a mandate in the midterm election. House majority leader Dick Armey says the Republican victories give Bush a realistic chance to reform the Social Security system in 2003. Sweeping free-market reform, long sought by conservatives, is "within our reach," he told reporters. "This is a time for boldness." Economist Kevin Hassett of the American Enterprise Institute declares, "It's morning again in America. . . . This is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to really force change." Even former vice president Walter Mondale, who lost the Minnesota Senate race, says the election was "a sweep" for Bush. "He will claim a mandate, and I think the public will accept that."

Whoa! Let's sober up about what Bush actually won on November 5 and what he should do about it. A broad mandate? Not quite. Spurred by the president, voters gave Republicans control of the Senate, a half-dozen more House seats, some state legislatures, and a wash in governor's races. That constitutes a sweet victory but hardly a mandate for Bush to clean out the backlog of Republican legislation and dormant conservative proposals. Instead, he should concentrate on the simple agenda that voters endorsed: win the war on terrorism and juice up the economy.

Simplicity is a virtue in White House agenda-setting. An uncomplicated program is easy to manage, easy to promote, and easy for the public to understand.

Simplicity is a virtue in White House (and congressional) agenda-setting. An uncomplicated program is easy to manage, easy to promote, and easy for the public to understand. We know this from the successful presidency of Ronald Reagan and the failures of Bill Clinton, Newt Gingrich, and Jimmy Carter. Reagan stressed two goals similar to Bush's. One was to defeat communism and win the Cold War, the other to revive a stagnant economy. For Reagan, the rest of the agenda, while not unimportant, was details, to be left for senior administration officials and congressional leaders to work out. The same is true for Bush. He has the ability to focus effectively—"like a laser," as Clinton might say—on whatever few issues he chooses. He's demonstrated that by his leadership as commander in chief in the war on terrorism since the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon. Now Bush needs to focus on the economy as well.

But only on those two issues, the war and the economy. Okay, an occasional prodding of the Senate to confirm his judicial nominees wouldn't hurt. But remember what happened to Clinton, Gingrich, and Carter with their bloated and controversial agendas. They wildly overreached, and soon shipwrecked. The only major achievement to come out of the 1990s was welfare reform. Rather than success, Clinton produced a political backlash. Gingrich was driven out of office. As for Carter, he was said by a speechwriter to believe in 50 things but no one thing, and his agenda reflected that lack of focus. He lost the presidency in 1980. Bush could suffer a similar fate in 2004 if he tries to ram a vast conservative agenda through a narrowly Republican Congress.

What Republicans need is exactly what they were denied over the past two decades: a string of consecutive election triumphs that create an era of conservative governance in Washington. Reagan won in 1980, but suffered a setback two years later. He won again in 1984, only to see Democrats take the Senate back in 1986. The elder Bush's victory in 1988 was followed by defeats in 1990 and 1992, and the GOP landslide in 1994 wound up making Clinton's reelection easy in 1996 and giving Democrats the edge in 1998. Bush can avert such a reversal, but only by winning the war on terrorism, which includes the ouster of Saddam Hussein, and restoring a vibrant economy. Sure, partially privatizing Social Security would be nice. And its time will come—later.

An old saying in politics is you should "dance with the one who brung you." What brought Republicans success in the midterm election was a watershed event, September 11, and the president's muscular response to it. Democrats never understood the terrorist attacks had permanently altered the political landscape. Bush did, and it led him to emphasize homeland security and national security in the fall campaign. Now, aside from concentrating on the war itself, he must complete the anti-terrorism agenda. He's won agreement, finally, on a

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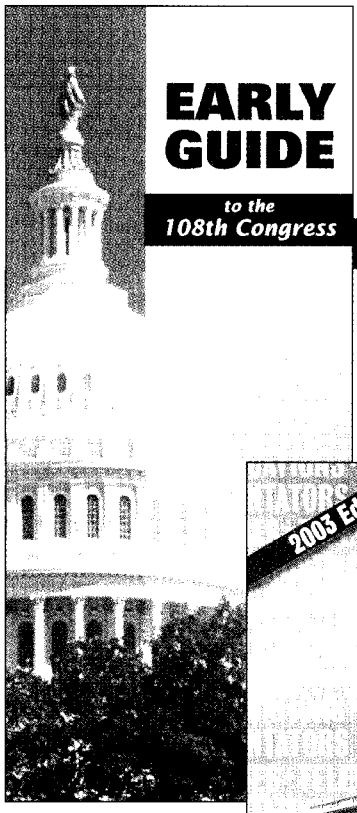

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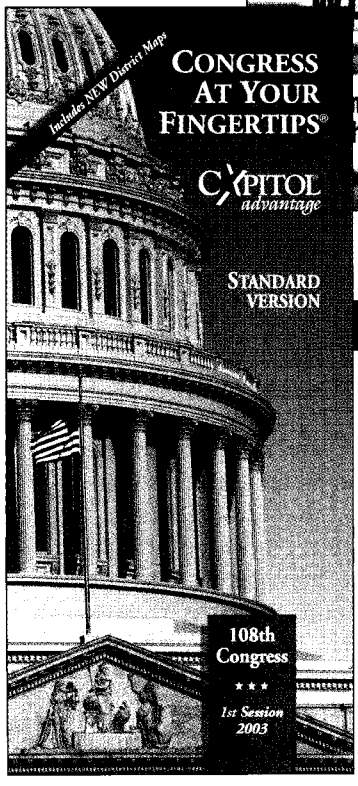

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Department of Homeland Security. A bill providing terrorism insurance is also crucial. But the war—against al Qaeda and Iraq—is most crucial of all.

There are many steps Bush could take to boost the economy. But the simplest would be to make the 10-year tax cut enacted in 2001 both permanent and immediate. Trying to select certain cuts to implement now and others to roll out gradually until 2011 is a fool's game that can only lead to endless argument. And giving a veto to the economic establishment in Washington—Federal Reserve chairman Alan Greenspan, Treasury secretary Paul O'Neill, and budget director Mitch Daniels—would be a mistake. They'd no doubt balk at imposing the full tax cut and fret about growing deficits. No doubt, too, queasy presidential advisers would urge Bush to bring in outside advisers like ex-Treasury secretary Bob Rubin, who'd also advise caution.

The full tax cut has already been debated and passed, so it has a large, built-in constituency in the House and Senate. Democratic senator Zell Miller of Georgia says the time is ripe for Democrats to adopt tax-cutting as party policy. If he's right—and probably also if he's wrong—advancing all the tax reductions to January 1, 2003, can be passed without fear of a Democratic filibuster or the loss of Republican senator Lincoln Chafee's vote. If he uses the reconciliation process, all Bush needs is 50 senators to win approval. Yes, Democrats and the media will blather about increased budget deficits. But weighed against critical spending for the war on terrorism and tax cuts to spur the economy, deficits are economically and politically harmless. Reagan knew this, and Bush probably does too.

The president has an interest in many other issues, as do conservatives. But he'll have to let others take care of them—and they will. GOP senators are eager to confirm more conservative judges, pass a scaled-back faith-based initiative, and approve anti-cloning legislation and a new version of a ban on partial-birth abortion. They should move ahead on these. With Lott replacing Tom Daschle as Senate majority leader, reasonable compromises on a prescription drug benefit, a patient's bill of rights, and an energy bill are now possible.

Bush's presidency will be defined by success or failure in winning the war on terrorism and removing the threat posed by Saddam Hussein. But victory in the war alone may not be enough to assure his reelection in 2004. It wasn't for Bush's father. A sound economy would provide that assurance. And progress in the war and on the economy will lay the foundation for an era of Republican and conservative rule in Washington.

—Fred Barnes, for the Editors

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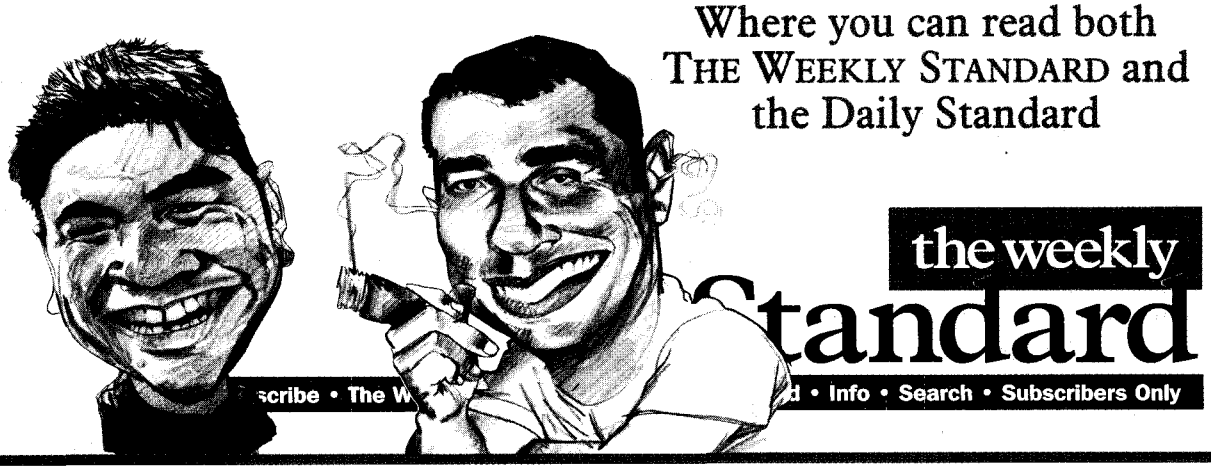

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The Fantasy Life of American Liberals

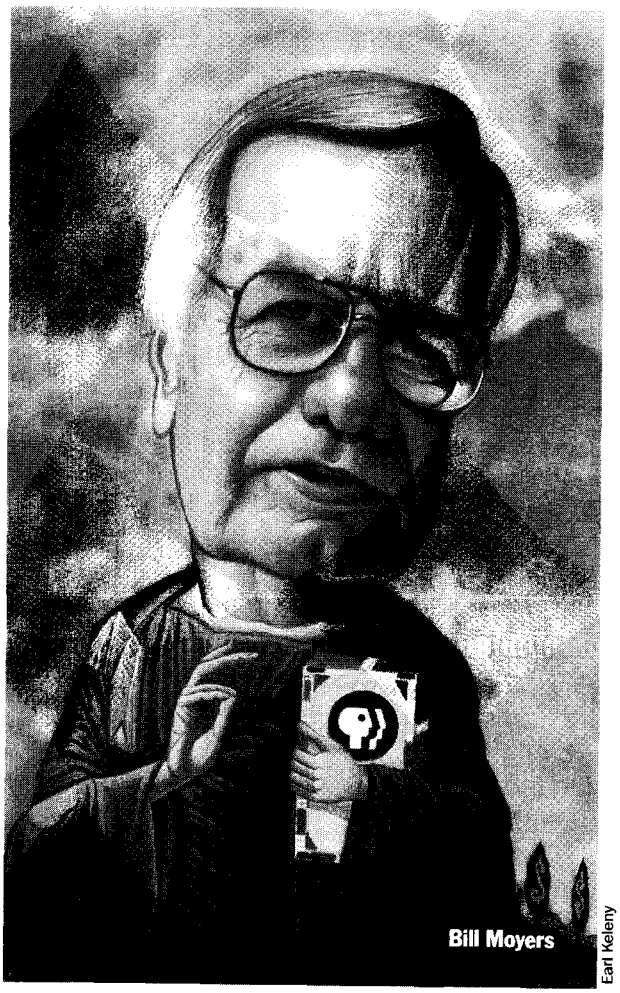
Three generations of left-wing idiocy are enough.

BY CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

THE ELECTION RETURNS are in, and the high priest of American liberalism has spoken. "If you like God in government, get ready for the Rapture," warned Bill Moyers in his post-election PBS commentary. And not only will George Bush, right-wing radical, now attempt to impose a theocracy, he is preparing, among other depredations, "to force pregnant women to give up control over their own lives . . . to transfer wealth from working people to the rich . . . [and] to eviscerate the environment."

Odd. In a country where the great assault, such as it is, on "choice" consists of parental notification of teenage abortions, in a country where most people don't particularly enjoy having their wealth "transferred," where they support reasonable environmental regulation and believe in some separation between church and state, how could this conjunction of "piety, profits, and military power, all joined at the hip by ideology and money"—Moyers's summary of Republicanism—command such public support?

Moyers doesn't explain, it being perhaps imprudent to openly express contempt for a public whose tax money supports his show. Bob Herbert works for the *New York Times* and thus does not have the same dilemma. But as a prototypical paleoliberal, he offers the traditional explanation for the umpteenth defeat of liberalism at the polls: the beguiling smile. The GOP, you see, "wears a sunny mask, which conceals a reality that is far more ideological, far more extreme, than most Americans realize." The voters are therefore not the total idiots Moyers makes them out to be. They are simply seduced, done in by the genial smile.



Bill Moyers

Earl Keleny

Ah, the genial smile. There have been three successful Republican presidents in the modern era (i.e., since the New Deal), all of whose successes confounded the liberal elites. It began with their inability to fathom how Americans could prefer Eisenhower to Stevenson. The smile. Ike was a fool who (in Captain Renault's immortal phrase) blundered his way into Berlin, smiled his way into the presidency—and then whiled it away playing golf.

The next puzzle was Ronald Reagan, the "amiable dunce" (Clark Clifford's famously obtuse characterization) who somehow brought down the Soviet empire. It was a Hollywood conceit that *Being There*, the Peter Sellers film about a retarded recluse who is taken for a mystical genius and becomes president, was a metaphor for Reagan. His genial smile concealed not just stupidity but evil intentions. No, not *his* evil intentions—he being too dimwitted even to merit moral opprobrium—but the evil intentions of those manipulating him behind the scenes.

Twenty years later, the liberal nightmare returns in the form of George W. Bush, another exemplar of the trinity of Republican success: geniality, empty-headedness, and evil. With him, there is a similar difficulty reconciling the apparent antitheticals: empty-headedness and evil. Once again this is explained by the Manchurian Candidate theory, Bush, the simpleton, being the puppet of a vast, dark, right-wing cabal.

This is a running theme, indeed an obsession, of *Times* columnist Paul Krugman, who wrote during the French election that the neofas-

Charles Krauthammer is a contributing editor to THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

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cist presidential candidate Jean-Marie Le Pen was a mirror image of American Republicanism. Except that things are worse in America because Le Pen lost and Bush won. "Le Pen is a political outsider. . . . So his hard-right ideas won't be put into practice anytime soon. . . . In this country people with views that are, in their way, as extreme as Mr. Le Pen's are in a position to put those views into practice."

In America, the fascists have achieved power, riding the smile of their front man "boy king," too dense perhaps even to know the interests he serves. This theme reached its comic apogee in Barbra Streisand's now famous, gloriously misspelled antiwar memo to Dick Gephardt, in which she explained that the reason Bush was dragging the nation to war with Iraq was to serve the "oil industry, the chemical companies, the logging industry." On to Baghdad—for the timber!

This is truly bizarre. George Bush, extremist? This is a president who passed an education bill essentially written by Ted Kennedy. His tax reform involves the most modest of rate cuts for the upper brackets and is what any Keynesian would have done in the face of a recession. It is, for example, more moderate than the (John) Kennedy tax cuts. The other alleged parts of his agenda—the environmental rape, the imposition of theocracy, the abolition of civil liberties (Moyers: "secrecy on a scale you cannot imagine")—are nothing but the delusion of liberals made quite mad by defeat.

The last time the Republicans enjoyed unexpected political victory, the Gingrich revolution of 1994, the liberal consensus was dumbfounded. How to explain history going so wrong? Hence, a legend was born, the legend of the "angry white male." In fact, that term had no empirical basis whatsoever. I did a search and found only three polls that even asked about anger. In all three, 70-80 percent of white male respondents *denied* being angry. In contrast, the Democrats' victory two years earlier was sweetly dubbed "Year of the Woman."

Why? Because it is an article of liberal faith that conservatism is not just wrong but stone coldhearted to the core. When Robert Nozick died earlier this year, Christopher Lehmann-Haupt wrote in his *New York Times* obituary, "The implications of 'Anarchy, State, and Utopia' are strongly libertarian and proved comforting to the right, which was grateful for what it embraced as philosophical justification."

Liberalism needs no philosophical justification because it only wants to do good. Conservatives are grateful to find a thinker who can spin logic well enough to cover their tracks, providing "philosophical justification" for their rape and pillage.

And when this sleight of hand, this transmutation of evil into good, is accomplished not by a philosophical genius like Nozick but by yet another amiable dunce in the presidency, liberals become unhinged. The 2000 election they could attribute to simple theft; the 2002 election they could only attribute to a kind of cosmic false consciousness. Yet the voters seem to have known precisely what they were doing. It was not George Bush's genial smile that got the most liberal state in the union, Massachusetts, not only to elect a conservative Mormon businessman as governor but to overwhelmingly approve the abolition of bilingual education, that totem of liberal social engineering. It was a triumph of experience over hope, the very definition of conservatism.

Such ideas cannot possibly be admitted. Hence the rage at Bush, the contempt for the electorate, and the spinning of deeply disturbed and highly entertaining conspiracy theories. Judging by their wild and crazy reaction to their defeat on November 5, one can only conclude that this election has left liberal elites further out of touch with reality than at any time in recent memory. As a former psychiatrist, I can confidently predict that logic and empirical evidence will have no therapeutic effect. It's time for the Thorazine. ♦

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Losers for the American Way

The electorate turns its back on pro-choice extremists. BY NOEMIE EMERY

A BIG THING HAPPENED in the elections that you won't read about much in the papers, and the fact that you won't be reading about it is one of the reasons it did. The big story is that the pro-choice extremists took a widespread whipping, which is the one thing the press doesn't want to acknowledge, much less trumpet abroad to the troops. Nevertheless, the big-picture facts are astounding. NARAL, the nation's premier abortion-rights lobby, won 2 of its 11 targeted runs in the Senate, and went 6 for 26 in the House. As the third-worst performing political action committee in the country, NARAL took a backseat to the absolute loser, EMILY's List, the much-lauded PAC that promotes pro-choice women Democrats, which won 1 of 10 key runs in the Congress. By contrast, the National Right to Life Committee won 8 of 10 races. In three Senate states in which abortion emerged as a visible difference—New Hampshire, Colorado, and Missouri—pro-choice candidates lost to pro-lifers.

In state after state after state, in venues as liberal as Massachusetts and Maryland, women candidates who had walked hand in hand with NARAL's Kate Michelman lost races to pro-lifers or moderates. Shannon O'Brien lost to Mitt Romney, Jeanne Shaheen lost to John Sununu, Jean Carnahan lost to Jim Talent, and Kathleen Kennedy Townsend lost to Bob Ehrlich in a state Democrats rule two to one. It is not possible to say just how the issue played out in all of these races, but it is safe to say nobody lost in the big ticket races for liking abortion too little. On the weekend before the election, Eleanor Clift told a national audience that Jeanne Shaheen would win her state for the Democrats, as "New Hampshire is a pro-choice state." John Sununu won by three points.

Pro-choice extremists then lost on another dimension, in a different nationwide sweep. The Democratic-controlled Senate Judiciary Committee made itself the transmission belt for People for the American Way and other liberal lobbies, and waged bloody war on all judicial nominees who did not follow their line on "choice." Among the judges bagged and shot down by the committee were Charles Pickering of Mississippi and Priscilla Owen of Texas, the latter for supporting parental notification on abortions for minors—a stance that most of the country supports.

Bush lost no time making judges an issue. The *Washington Post* reported on April 15, "Two days in a row last month, Bush broached Pickering's defeat at political events he attended in Texas and Georgia. 'We're going to have more fights when it comes to the judiciary,' he said at a fund-raiser for Rep. C. Saxby Chambliss. Bush said the Senate needs more Republicans such as Chambliss who, he said, would have 'stood up and defended the honor' of Pickering. GOP strategists contend that the future of the judiciary—while not a top rung issue—may nevertheless prove potent in the midterm elections, among voters the White House is seeking to reach."

And did it ever. Chambliss will now be a senator, after a startling upset. John Cornyn from Texas will now be a senator, after his opponent Ron Kirk followed People for the American Way's lead on Owen. The issue of judgeships, a stand-in for abortion, did its part in swinging key states to Republicans. "Last week's election returns did not produce anything like a right-wing mandate," the *New York Times* is now wailing in retrospect. "Nothing in the election returns suggests that Americans want the courts packed with such judges."

Actually, nothing in the election returns suggests that Americans want judgeships to stand empty to save the great cause of late-term abortion. Having helped the Democrats lose some elections in key seats in the Senate, the *Times* now wants those still left to increase their efforts, filibustering against judges who don't toe NARAL's line. Ralph Neas of People for the American Way thinks this idea is terrific, as does Ted Kennedy, who told reporters that if the White House wants to "send right-wing ideologues [to the courts], that will cause a battle to the Senate floor." The White House might now want to pay them to do so. Next time they might win still more seats.

Clearly, NARAL and the *Times* have a reality deficit crisis, vis-à-vis their own position in the world. While it is true enough that most Americans do not want to see a ban on all abortions, they are perfectly willing to see the practice discouraged, restricted, and even fenced in by new laws. As polls consistently show, most Americans would like to see abortion outlawed after the third month of gestation, support parental and even spousal notification, and especially oppose the grisly procedure called partial-birth abortion, in which a near full-term fetus, while still in the birth canal, has its brains extracted and then its skull crushed so that it can be born safely dead. Pro-choice support crested around 1990, and since then has been declining, losing ground in every demographic imaginable, among all women, young women, the young in general. American opinion will never swing wholly over to a totally pro-life view, but it is moving now in a pro-life

Noemie Emery is a contributing editor to THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

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direction. "Jane Roe" herself has even recanted. In real life, the trend lines are down.

One reason the lobbies don't see this too clearly is that they have too many good friends in the press. On no other issue are liberal blinders more evident: More than four in five journalists support a position that most voters reject as immoderate. The result is that in nearly all of their coverage, pro-choice extremists are described as being mainstream and moderate, while center-right moderates are presented as extremists. Typical was a report by Dana Milbank in the *Washington Post* on November 12, headlined "Lott's Promise to Bring Up Abortion Worries Bush Aides."

The gist of this tale was that "religious conservatives" are threatening to damage the president's interests by pressing an unpopular, fringe agenda. Among other things, they want a partial-birth abortion ban, an act making it a crime to take a minor out of state for an abortion without telling her parents, and an act forbidding local governments from punishing doctors and hospitals that refuse to perform abortions for reasons of conscience. Bush might want to delay these for tactical reasons. But these ideas remain popular. Stories like this make conservatives seethe, but they are really a much larger problem for Democrats. Prodded on by the Clifts and the Milbanks, they launch ferocious assaults on moderate proposals and candidates. And then they run into a wall.

This does not mean that pro-life absolutism is popular either; it isn't. But the pro-lifers know this, and have adjusted their tactics, while pro-choice extremists have not. NARAL and the *Times* may think abortion law is fine as it is (if not too restrictive) and that Bush's judges and allies will pull it too far to the right. Actually, current abortion law is well to the left of the country, and Bush's judges will push it back closer to the center, which is something that voters appreciate. NARAL and PAW will think this is extremist, and not know what hit them. They can blame their good friends in the press. ♦

Negotiations, Pentagon Style

As inspectors head back to Iraq, the military buildup continues apace. BY STEPHEN F. HAYES

On November 8, just minutes after the United Nations Security Council voted to approve the latest resolution on Saddam Hussein, President Bush clarified its meaning: "[Saddam] must submit to any and all methods to verify his compliance. His cooperation must be prompt and unconditional or he will face the severest consequences."

With some 60,000 troops already in the region and the entire U.S. military preparing for war, the meaning of that phrase—"severest consequences"—might seem self-evident.

Not at the State Department, where Colin Powell last week suggested his preference for a second U.N. resolution authorizing force and where his spokesman, Richard Boucher, threatened the Iraqi dictator with battle-hardened . . . lawyers?

What is clear, and what should not be surprising, is that the Bush administration is proceeding on the Iraqi question on two different tracks: diplomatic and military. And while Pentagon planning proceeds apace, anticipating battle in the optimal fighting months of December through March, the State Department is slowing everything down.

In part, this state of affairs reflects the traditional State/Pentagon split—the State Department seeks allies and the Defense Department kills bad guys. But it also reveals a deep disagreement over whether the return of U.N. inspectors is a distraction (the Pentagon), an end in itself (the State Department), or a means to an end (the White House).

One concern of senior Pentagon officials and others in the national security hierarchy is the composition of the inspection team. The U.N. Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) is a body that was created (with significant input from Iraq) after Saddam barred the original inspection team, UNSCOM, from inspecting anything. UNMOVIC, national security officials say, is an emasculated version of UNSCOM and is led by an Inspector Clouseau-like figure in Hans Blix, former head of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

One reason for their skepticism: While former U.N. inspectors and arms experts disagree about how to disarm Iraq, virtually all of them say that crucial to the effectiveness of any inspection regime is the power to interview Iraqi government scientists outside Iraq, with guaranteed protection for their families, including the offer of asylum. President Bush included this requirement in his address to the U.N. on September 12. Common sense tells us that Iraq's top government scientists know more about its weapons of mass destruction than anyone alive. But Blix has rejected this approach, dismissing it simply as "impractical."

These same officials worry that with the "zero-tolerance" policy articulated by President Bush, the inspectors will be willing to overlook some Iraqi noncompliance in order to avoid war. There is a decade of history to justify such fears. And the inspectors' boss, U.N. secretary general Kofi Annan, has demonstrated

Stephen F. Hayes is a staff writer at THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

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that he is willing to do anything—including disband the inspection regime altogether—to avoid war. (In 1998, of course, Iraqi noncompliance was the reason inspectors were kicked out of Iraq, with little substantive protest from Annan.) The likelihood that Blix and the current head of the IAEA, Mohamed El-Baradei, will disregard what they consider minor instances of Iraqi noncompliance has long been a concern of those who argued against renewed inspections. Late last week, El-Baradei said inspectors would need to see "a pattern of lack of cooperation" before they would report to the Security Council.

If Hans Blix and his inspectors are shuffling around the Iraqi desert a year from now, says one senior administration official, "that's a catastrophe." And it just might come true if the State Department has its way.

Colin Powell last weekend raised the prospect of going to the U.N. for a second resolution, authorizing the use of force. Said Powell, "Clearly if the Security Council acts, it acts with the force of international law." That formulation invites this question: If the United States acts, does it necessarily act outside international law? The answer is no, but Powell plainly prefers more Security Council involvement, not less. Problem is, the Security Council is unlikely ever to endorse the use of force. Remember, after UNSCOM was disbanded, France, Russia, and China opposed reconstituting any inspection regime, and favored simply lifting the sanctions on Iraq. Just to create UNMOVIC—the current, relatively powerless inspection operation—took a year.

"The president recognizes that [working with the U.N.] was a risk," says an administration official. "But he is determined not to get sidetracked." That much was clear from Bush's comments minutes after the resolution passed.

"Any act of delay or defiance will be an additional breach of Iraq's international obligations and a clear signal that the Iraqi regime has once again abandoned the path of voluntary compliance," Bush said. "With the passage of this resolution the world must not lapse into unproductive debates over whether specific instances of Iraqi noncompliance are serious. Any Iraqi noncompliance is serious, because such bad faith will show that Iraq has no intention of disarming."

Any Iraqi noncompliance is serious. Not much wiggle room there. But State Department spokesman Richard Boucher must have missed the president's remarks. Last Wednesday, as Bush elaborated a bit on his "zero-tolerance" policy, Boucher lapsed into an unproductive debate over Iraqi noncompliance.

Responding to a question about a particularly obvious form of noncompliance—the Iraqi army's longstanding habit of trying to kill U.S. pilots patrolling the no-fly zone—Boucher gave voice to what might be called the "some-tolerance" policy. While allowing that Iraqi attempts to shoot down U.S. planes would "indicate an intention not to cooperate with the United Nations," Boucher punted. "I don't know if I can precisely answer that question. Probably take some kind of analysis, by the lawyers of the resolution."

Peter Steiner

White House spokesman Scott McClellan cleared up the issue by telling reporters—twice—that "Iraq must also stop firing on the U.S. and British aircraft patrolling the no-fly zone."

Even if Iraq stops shooting at American planes, we'll know more about Saddam's intentions by December 8, the deadline for Iraq to declare the status of its weapons of mass destruction program. Administration officials suggest such a declaration, if Saddam makes it at all, might resemble the "white paper" released by Britain earlier this fall describing much of what Western intelligence services know about Iraq's arsenal.

But Saddam is unpredictable, and Pentagon officials aren't taking any chances. The vigorous military buildup in the region continues. Last week, a key Kurdish leader told the *Los Angeles Times* that for the first time since 1996, there is military "cooperation" between his forces and the U.S. military. And Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld is scheduled to arrive in Qatar on December 9, one day after Saddam's next deadline, to open Central Command's new forward headquarters. ♦

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When Bush Came to Shove

Why he was such an effective campaigner.

BY JAMES ROSEN

TRAILING THE PRESIDENT across America, the White House press corps logged tens of thousands of miles this election cycle, condemned to watch Bush deliver the same stump speech several times a day. Jaded and bored, we pounced on the gaffes and yawned at the platitudes. In light of the midterm election results, however, it is clear we were watching an exceptionally effective campaigner—as Max Cleland, Jean Carnahan, Bill McBride, and several other stunned victims, still reeling from defeat, can attest.

What made the president's campaign appearances work so well? Certainly it wasn't their setting. He gave most of his speeches at fund-raising or welcome rallies held in hangars at the Air Force bases where his plane touched down. Nor was it his delivery. Bush is famous for his stumbles. "There's an old saying in Tennessee," he told a Nashville audience on September 17, "I know it's in Texas, it's probably in Tennessee, that says, 'Fool me once, shame on—shame on you. Fool me—you can't get fooled again.'"

Part of the answer has to do with his speeches' content. Democrats may find it convenient to chalk up their rivals' successes to the way the White House played the war card. But the reality was more complicated. Bush talked about lots of issues, not just Iraq, and he chose his targets well. His rhetorical villains were hardly limited to terrorists and Saddam Hussein.

Trial lawyers caught nearly as much presidential flak as al Qaeda, and on several different counts. At North Carolina's Charlotte Coliseum on October 24, Bush, championing medical malpractice liability reform, recounted the plight of a doctor who had relocated to the Mississippi Delta

Bush in Charlotte

KRT / Jeff Siner / Charlotte Observer

"to help people who couldn't help themselves with medicine." Unfortunately, the president explained, "the trial lawyers have made it so hard for this guy to practice compassionate medicine, he said, 'I've had it, I'm moving back home.'"

A week later, at West Virginia's Charleston Civic Center, Bush again blamed avaricious attorneys—this time for driving homebuilders out of business—as he called for terrorism insurance legislation that will "reward the hard hats and hardworking Americans, not America's trial lawyers." Even Bush's hit-or-miss laugh line—"The enemy must have thought we were so weak, so shallow, so self-absorbed, that all we would do after 9/11 is maybe file a lawsuit or two"—was an attack on trial lawyers.

At stop after stop, the president also promised to "make the tax cuts permanent," place strict constructionists on the bench, and revamp Medicare. These thrusts often drew applause equal to, or louder than, his calls for a Department of Homeland Security or regime change in Iraq—the only parts of the president's speech that his audiences had already been exposed to through Iraq-focused news coverage of his previous campaign stops.

But Bush's effectiveness also stemmed from the way he came across as a person. For one thing, he shows respect for his audiences—and for the news media—by starting his events on time or even early. In this, he's the anti-Clinton. He also cuts a neat, muscular figure and projects a sunny disposition. And his speechwriters don't overwrite. They keep his lines short and simple, eschewing soaring Sorensenian sentences in favor of truisms: "It's not the government's money, it's the people's money!"

Bush and his team also excel at tailoring their message to the political exigencies of the locale or host. A good example was their handling of the president's visit to Minnesota during the final week of Election 2002, soon after the plane crash that killed Sen. Paul Wellstone, one of the Senate's most consistent liberals, and seven other people. Bush—whom Wellstone had criticized during the 2000 campaign for his "really vicious attack on John McCain"—put politics aside at the outset and told the crowd: "Paul Wellstone was respected by all who worked with him; he'll be missed by all who knew him." He acknowledged that his listeners were "in mourning." By the time the president returned to politicking, the audience of close to 20,000 roared its approval. The "dignity gap" between this rally and the much criticized Wellstone memorial was unmistakable.

Similarly, in Florida, where his

James Rosen is a White House correspondent for the Fox News Channel.

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brother, Gov. Jeb Bush, had been dogged by challenger Bill McBride's vow to cut class sizes in public schools—unaccompanied by any explanation of how the cuts would be paid for—the president told a University of South Florida audience in Tampa: "We've got too many in the political process who just say things, just kind of float something out there and hope it sounds good, hope somebody might bite on it, hope it convinces people, but have no intentions or capabilities of getting it done."

These moments illustrate another secret of Bush's effectiveness: He knows what not to say. Of former vice president Walter Mondale, Wellstone's replacement on the ballot and a revered figure in Minnesota politics, the president uttered not a word during his in-state appearance two days before the election. Likewise, at the Jeb Bush rally three days before the polls opened, the governor's brother stayed presidential by refraining from mentioning McBride's class-size plan directly, or even referring to McBride by name.

The same restraint was discernible in Bush's campaigning for one Republican who would lose, Sen. Tim Hutchinson, whose reelection prospects had been undercut by a messy divorce. At a Hutchinson rally in Bentonville, Arkansas, on election eve, Bush discreetly jettisoned his standard warm-up lines extolling Candidate X as a "good man" who, like the president, had "married above himself."

It may be premature to crown George W. Bush the new Great Communicator. But respect for Bush's effectiveness—especially for his unique blend of Texan tact, directness, and humor—seems to be growing, even among White House correspondents.

This was evident at the president's valedictory news conference two days after the election. Relaxed and smiling, Bush allowed an unfriendly reporter a follow-up question, saying, "If the elections had gone a different way, I might not be so generous." He got a big laugh. ♦

Republicans and Their Amigos

GOP no longer stands for the gringos-only party.

BY TAMAR JACOBY

New York

DOMINICAN BUSINESSMAN Fernando Mateo spent Election Day driving around New York City, getting out the vote for George Pataki. The Dominican community is among the poorest in New York, and it has traditionally been one of the nation's most reliably left-leaning. Still, Mateo is convinced that it is up for grabs politically. He is building his political future among the smallest of small-time entrepreneurs: the Dominicans who own and drive most of the city's non-medallion taxis. And in the week before the election, he visited 150 storefront dispatchers, using their two-way radios to urge both drivers and passengers to go to the polls. All kinetic energy and optimism, he drove along one of the broad boulevards of the South Bronx and pointed to a row of neighborhood businesses—bodegas, money-wiring services, travel agencies, and the like. "Look," he gestured, "these entrepreneurs are natural Republicans. They may not know it yet. But all we have to do is explain it to them."

Mateo is far from the only Republican with this dream. The party has been talking about appealing to Latinos for 20 years now, and some consultants, including Bush pollster Matthew Dowd, have argued that unless the GOP can significantly increase its share of this vote, to a reliable 40 percent, the party will be doomed to oblivion. So the stakes could hardly have been higher this month—and the Republicans passed with flying colors. But that doesn't mean the game is over—or even that everyone in the party understands what has to be done to consolidate a win.

The biggest coups were in Florida and New York, where incumbent Republican governors Jeb Bush and Pataki seem to have met or exceeded Dowd's 40 percent goal. (Bush may have polled as high as 60 percent among Florida Hispanics, according to the Republican National Committee.) Even in Texas, where the Democratic gubernatorial candidate was himself a Latino, more than a third of Hispanics crossed ethnic lines to vote for incumbent Republican Rick Perry. Latino voters are not entirely unmoored—many still approach politics with traditionally Democratic assumptions—and their turnout remains anemic. But this election showed that unlike blacks, they are not automatic Democrats. "If there was any question, the Florida and Texas and New York results put it to rest," says California-based consultant Mike Madrid, who specializes in Hispanic outreach.

Pataki's success was perhaps the most remarkable, given New York Puerto Ricans' reputation as a conventional "minority" (read ultra-liberal) bloc. Encouraged by growing Latino support for Republican mayoral candidates Rudolph Giuliani and Michael Bloomberg, Pataki has been courting this constituency for several years now, on the campaign trail and also as governor. No favor was too large or too small, starting with a $1.8 billion raise for the mostly black and Hispanic health and hospital workers union, SIEU/1199. The governor visited the Puerto Rican island of

Tamar Jacoby is a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute.

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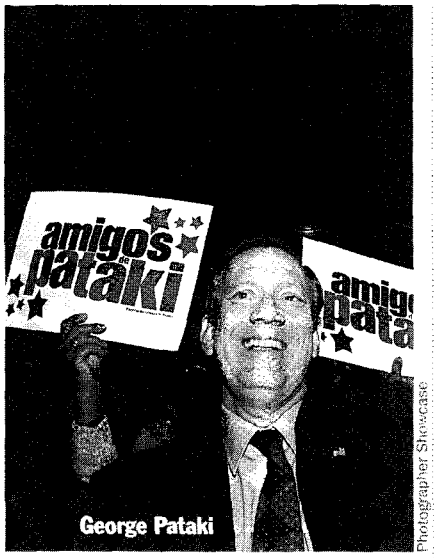
Vieques in April 2001 and persuaded the White House to phase out Navy bombing exercises there. He made it easier for the children of illegal immigrants to attend state universities; he even instituted stiffer penalties for those who mug or murder livery cab drivers. Latino voters felt the difference acutely: Pataki was one of the first Republicans ever to visit their neighborhoods, much less spend heavily on Spanish-language ads or encourage grass-roots get-out-the-vote groups like Amigos de Pataki.

The effort paid off on Election Day. The failure of the Voter News Service means there are fewer reliable numbers than usual. But at the very least, according to an estimate embraced by the *New York Times*, the governor garnered 38 percent of the New York City Hispanic vote, up from 15 percent in 1998—and according to other analysts, his statewide total may have been considerably higher. Based on tracking surveys and results in a few key election districts, the campaign believes he pulled in more like 43 to 46 percent. Angel Santana, a mom-and-pop store owner and former policeman who ran the Amigos chapter in the heavily Dominican neighborhood of Washington Heights, says Latino voters are more pragmatic than partisan. They "don't really care if someone is a Democrat or a Republican," he says. "What matters is the candidate and what he has delivered for the community."

Jeb Bush found much the same thing in Florida. Like Pataki, he has been wooing Latinos for years. In contrast to earlier Florida Republicans who relied on the Cuban vote and left it at that, Bush has visited Puerto Rico and focused on issues that matter to the poorer, non-Cuban service-sector workers who now account for 70 percent of the state's Latino population. He speaks fluent Spanish, advertises in Spanish, and knows the difference between new immigrants and those who have been here a generation or more. His TV spots, which appealed to Spanish-speakers as both Latinos and Americans, were said to be highly effective: One of the most popular showed a flag changing colors—first Puerto Rican, then Cuban, then Mexican, then Salvadoran, and finally, lastingly, the Florida banner. According to a Fox News exit poll, Bush won 56 percent of the Latino vote, including a predictable 70 percent among Cuban-Americans, but also an astonishing 51 percent of non-Cuban Hispanics.

But arguably it was the Texas vote that was the most chastening for Democrats. Convinced that Latinos were a classic minority that would vote with underprivileged blacks, the party pinned its hopes on a color-coded ticket—a black, a Latino, and a liberal Anglo known collectively as the "Dream Team." (The only real issue for many Democrats was whether the minority turnout would be big enough.) As in Florida and New York, the GOP pitch didn't ignore ethnicity—there was plenty of advertising in Spanish—and it recognized that Latinos are sometimes concerned about different issues, in a different style. But like Pataki and Jeb Bush, Texas Republicans depended more on old-fashioned ethnic-ward campaigning than identity politics: delivering for a constituency as a way to bring them into the system, rather than appealing, implicitly or explicitly, to racial anger and alienation.



George Pataki

Photographer Showcase

The Texas race brought the two approaches head to head for the first time, and according to exit polls, there was much less of a rainbow effect than Democrats were counting on. Virtually all blacks (97 percent) voted for black senatorial candidate Ron Kirk, but only two-thirds of Hispanics did. And blacks voted even more heavily than Latinos—significantly more so—for Mexican-American gubernatorial challenger Tony Sanchez. Meanwhile, despite two TV ads that the mainstream press deemed demeaning to Hispanics, the Anglo governor, Rick Perry, walked away with an estimated 35 percent of the Latino vote.

Not all Republicans succeeded in pleasing Latinos. The overwhelming majority of Hispanic elected officials are still Democrats. In most places, even where top-of-the-ticket Republicans won big, Hispanic voters still sent mostly Democrats to Congress and the state legislatures. And, perhaps most telling, in races like the California gubernatorial contest, where Republican Hispanic outreach seemed little more than an afterthought—a matter of a few ads or a last-minute appearance in an ethnic neighborhood—most Latino voters remained solidly in the Democratic fold.

It's the sort of partial success that leaves young Latino Republicans chomping at the bit. The kind of GOP platform most likely to lure Hispanics is obvious enough. Opinion surveys consistently show that they like big government and look to it to help them—a tendency that often inclines them toward Democrats. Yet like other immigrants, they also put a premium on opportunity—and Republicans can offer to provide it in the form of education, loans for first-time homeowners, tax cuts for small business, and a more rational immigration policy. Still, Latino party insiders insist, it's a message that will only work if more Republicans adopt it—many more. "Jeb Bush and George Pataki showed it can be done," says consultant Mike Madrid. "It's not only possible, it's probable—but only if the party can get its act together." ♦

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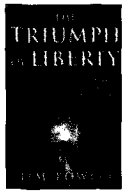

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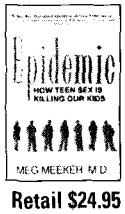

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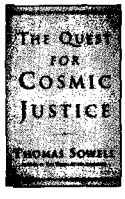

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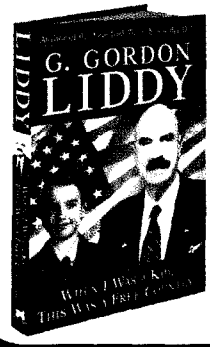

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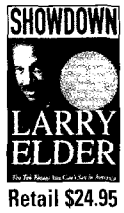

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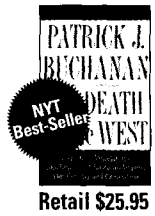

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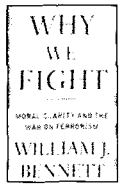

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Two Cheers for Leaks

The crime-solving tactic police hate.

BY ELI LEHRER

AROUND 1:00 A.M. on Thursday, October 24, with the manhunt for the Beltway sniper entering its third week, trucker Ronald Lanz—his radio tuned to the "Truckin' Bozo" network—spotted a blue 1990 Chevy Caprice at a rest stop along I-70, a few miles from the Maryland-Pennsylvania border. He saw the license plate he had heard about over the radio—New Jersey tag NDA-21Z—and punched 9-1-1 on his mobile phone. Working with another big-rig driver, he blocked the rest stop's exits. Around 3:00 A.M. heavily armed SWAT teams converged on the car and apprehended Beltway sniper suspects John Allen Muhammad and John Lee Malvo.

From tip to capture, the alleged snipers' apprehension was a textbook law enforcement operation and a sterling example of citizen-police cooperation—except for one thing: The police had never released the license plate number that led to the suspects. Instead, reporters had overheard the number on police radios, and, after waiting for several hours, had released it without the consent of the police.

For the most part, police hate leaks, even those that turn out to help them solve crimes. When the *Washington Post* and the capital area's Newschannel 8 reported that the sniper had left a tarot card at the scene of one shooting, a furious Montgomery County police chief Charles Moose sarcastically suggested that the media take over the investigation. Police departments' dislike of leaks has a strong basis in fact: Uncontrolled leaks of every hunch the police follow don't help solve crimes. Managed correctly, however, openness and even leaks can assist law enforcement. Good police work, in the end, relies on both openness and secrecy, gauged to the circumstances of each case.

By and large, police departments have become much more open in recent years, and sharing information with the public has helped crack cases big and small. Although the overhyped Amber Alert system for assisting kidnap victims bears a significant risk of creating false alarms, its underlying philosophy—get out as much information as quickly as possible—is enormously beneficial.

Since kidnappers tend to demand secrecy, police rarely publicized kidnappings before the early 1990s even though leaks rarely led to additional harm to victims. Once it became standard practice to initiate mass publicity, kidnappings by strangers (never common to begin with) fell by more than 50 percent. Two teenage girls kidnapped last August from a lovers' lane in Southern California almost certainly would have died at their kidnappers' hands were it not for an all-out media blitz about the case.

The FBI, likewise, caught Unabomber Theodore Kaczynski when the *Washington Post* published his rambling manifesto and his brother turned him in. Police captured serial child predator Alejandro Avila—who allegedly kidnapped, raped, and murdered 5-year-old Samantha Runnion—after Orange County sheriff Michael Carona took the unprecedented step of briefing the public on the case's details last summer.

In fact, strategically leaked information often aids an investigation more than officially controlled news stories. "When you release something [officially], it's out there and anyone who you're trying to get knows about it," says Edward Davis, the police superintendent in Lowell, Massachusetts. "You can leak, and then the public has the information, but the person you're trying to get doesn't have a clear sense of what you're doing with it."

Many of America's most effective police departments opened their doors wide during the 1990s and saw enormous crime drops partly as a result. In Chicago, where crime continues to decline even as it rises in many other large cities, an overly bureaucratic but effective strategy called CAPS (Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy) emphasizes two-way communication with the public. Police priorities are developed partly from open meetings at the neighborhood level. And information about law-enforcement strategies is made available to citizens. A two-year-old website even lets residents see up-to-the-minute crime figures for their neighborhoods.

Anaheim, California—which during the 1990s enjoyed the largest crime reductions of any of America's 50 largest cities—followed a similar policy of openness. "Releasing as much information as possible makes everyone part of the posse. It's almost a throwback to the Old West," argues Joe Vargas, a lieutenant with the Anaheim police who was one of the west coast's most respected public information officers before his promotion. "Getting people involved works."

Of course, it also carries risks. Sometimes openness means the release of information that will turn out to be wrong. Thus, as Washington, D.C.-area police hunted for the sniper, they announced that they were looking for a white van—a lead that would prove false. Both citizens and the media should appreciate that this is inevitable, just as they should respect the need for secrecy in many instances. In the sniper case, the leak of the famous tarot card and an ill-advised notice that police had stepped up patrols around schools did nothing to

Eli Lehrer is senior editor at the American Enterprise *magazine.*

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solve the case and may have helped the sniper claim more victims.

"Leaks are one of the most annoying parts of an investigation. They can help the person you're trying to catch and make everything harder on your detectives," explains Robert Wadman, a former Omaha, Nebraska, police chief. Wadman tells the story of a serial rapist who nearly got away because of a poorly timed leak. In the late 1980s, "night stalker" serial killer Richard Ramirez managed to evade police and claim six more victims after then-San Francisco mayor Dianne Feinstein told a talk radio show the details of a dragnet aimed at catching him.

Indeed, sensitive investigations always demand a degree of secrecy. Major-crime detectives—who reach their positions through careful police work and attention to evidence—are particularly sensitive to leaks because they know that loss of control over evidence can destroy a case. "It's the first instinct to make sure that information doesn't get out," says Theron Bowman, chief of police in Arlington, Texas, and a sought-after expert on police management. Bowman explains that releasing too much information can actually hurt the public's ability to help the police. "If every tip gets broadcast, then the public can go off in every-which direction," he says. Prosecutors, likewise, fear that releasing too much information can make it harder to find an impartial jury.

On the whole, police departments' turn toward openness has improved the quality of policing. The police cannot patrol every street at once, and releasing information helps the public to police itself. Sometimes the police err on the side of releasing too little information; occasionally, they tell the public too much. No system, method, or rule can cover every contingency; and whatever the rule, there is no substitute for the exercise of judgment by seasoned law-enforcement officers. Since even they are not infallible, however, the best "system" may be the one we have: an unpredictable but ultimately creative mix of official information, independent news reporting, and leaks. ♦

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The GOP's Secret Weapon . . .

Yes, it's the *New York Times*.

BY BRUCE BARTLETT

CONSERVATIVES COMPLAIN constantly (and rightly) about the liberal bias of the major media. What they don't realize, however, is that this bias probably hurts liberals more than it helps them. The Republican victory this fall is a case in point.

One way media bias hurts liberals is by giving them a false sense of security. There is a tendency for those in public office to judge their performance on the basis of day-to-day press coverage. If a congressman or senator gets good press, he assumes he is doing a good job.

But if the media share the lawmaker's political philosophy, then there is a danger that he may be misled. He may think he is popular with voters, when in fact they are not happy with him at all. He is only getting positive press coverage because the media like what he stands for.

Good examples of this are abortion, gun control, and campaign finance reform. A survey of the pressroom in any major newspaper, newsweekly, or television network will show overwhelming support for abortion on demand, restrictive gun control, and severe limits on campaign contributions. Any candidate espousing such views will generally get positive press coverage for them.

The problem is that the nation is split on these issues, in contrast to the monolithic view of the press. In the case of gun control, in particular, Democrats have had to backtrack from their hardline anti-gun position in recent years, lest they lose the last few rural members of their party in Congress.

Consequently, press bias is a two-edged sword. It irritates the heck out of conservatives, but at the same time induces a sense of complacency among liberals that can be exploited. The latter are, in effect, urged farther to the left by the media than is politically prudent, setting the stage for conservative upsets.

Another way liberal bias hurts liberals is that it causes reporters to underplay, overlook, and often completely ignore important political trends.

A good example of this is religion. Most reporters, in my observation, are agnostics. Those who are religious at all usually belong to mainline churches and denominations. Very, very few would consider themselves fundamentalists, or orthodox, within whatever religion they belong to.

And yet fundamentalism and the return to orthodoxy have been the most important religious trends of the last three decades. All the mainline Protestant denominations are losing members, while conservative Christian churches continue to grow. Among Jews as well, conservative and orthodox congregations have grown steadily at the expense of the reformed majority. And, of course, we are all too well aware that fundamentalism among Muslims has become the Western world's dominant foreign policy problem.

The point is that if a newspaper has not one person on its staff who is a religious conservative, how is that paper going to have any clue about what is going on among those who share such beliefs? A good reporter, to be sure, can cover any issue well, given time and resources. But what is going to trigger his editor's interest in covering the deeply religious when neither has much knowledge of that community in the first place?

The irony is that those in the media understand this fact perfectly well when it comes to race, ethnicity, and gender. They are obsessed with increasing the number of blacks, Latinos, and women in the media, and the rationale is the need to better cover stories of interest to these groups. Yet the same logic holds for many other groups in society, including religious fundamentalists and political conservatives, for whom no similar outreach effort is ever pursued.

The result is a blind spot for the media. They miss a lot of what is going on in society because they just don't see it. Newsrooms today are echo chambers, where reporters and editors hear the same liberal conventional wisdom over and over again.

All of this hurts Democrats far more than they know. To the extent that they pay attention to their media coverage, they are cut off from the mainstream of society without even realizing it, implicitly believing that Peoria thinks like the *New York Times*. Indeed, since the *Times* has become a virtual newsletter for the Democratic party, it surely deserves some of the blame for the Democrats' 25-year trend from dominant political party to what looks like long-term minority status.

Therefore, conservatives should stop worrying so much about liberal media bias. It exists and probably always will. Conservatives are not wrong to remind themselves that if it were up to the major media, not one of them would hold office anywhere in America. But if I'm correct about the effects of liberal bias, conservatives probably owe at least a silent nod of thanks to the media for their current majority. ♦

Bruce Bartlett is a senior fellow with the National Center for Policy Analysis. He writes a nationally syndicated column for Creators Syndicate.

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How Do I Hate Thee?

The global anti-American Left and what makes them tick

By Christopher Caldwell

Florence

As tens of thousands of anti-globalization activists began converging on the European Social Forum on November 7, you could see small trucks trundling panes of corrugated steel and aluminum sheeting towards the center of Florence. Walking through the Piazza della Repubblica, you could hear the *zheem! zheem!* of air wrenches riveting these barricades onto shop-fronts and department store windows. New Louis Vuitton and Fendi boutiques, scheduled to open days previously, had delayed their grand openings, and were totally encased. The McDonald's on via Cavour dismantled its plastic logos and put them in storage before battening down the windows. Shell gas stations outside Florence did the same.

The anti-globalist groups were meeting in opposition to three things: "neoliberalism" (as they call capitalism), war (particularly the one they expect America to wage in Iraq), and racism. They claimed to come in peace, in the name of "universal rights and democracy." Clearly, the shopkeepers of Florence didn't take them at their word, and neither did the police and carabinieri. The airspace over Florence was closed. Local authorities were supplemented by eight sharpshooter units, five canine patrols, two frogman squads (to protect the U.S. and British consulates along the Arno), fifteen SWAT teams, five bulldozer units (for destroying barricades), and four helicopters. The suburban Sollicciano Prison relocated hundreds of its inmates to make room for fresh arrests.

AFP Photo / Filippo Monteforte

Defuse Bush: protester in Florence, November 9, 2002

Florentines were divided over the event. The city's radical-chic mayor, Leonardo Domenici, welcomed the groups gathering for dozens of seminars and workshops in the city's Fortezza da Basso, even when attendance grew from an anticipated 10,000 to nearly 40,000. Nor was Domenici fazed when it looked like an anti-American peace march scheduled to close the week's events on Saturday would draw similarly unexpected crowds. The Nobel prize-winner and longtime Communist Dario Fo was also delighted; he offered the gathering's kickoff speech. The filmmaker Franco Zeffirelli, who has moved increasingly rightward over the years, called the gathering "disgusting." And writer Oriana Fallaci wrote an "Open Letter to the Florentines" in *Corriere della Sera*, in which she urged her native city to resist the anti-globalists as it had the Nazis.

These differences rested not just on politics but on an assessment of the potential for violence. Since anti-globalization protests first erupted at meetings of the World Trade Organization in Seattle in late 1999, the movement has grown steadily more radical and violent. April 2000 saw 650 arrests in Washington for an anti-IMF protest. At

Christopher Caldwell is a senior editor at The Weekly Standard.

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a World Bank meeting in Prague in September 2000, protesters were throwing Molotov cocktails in the faces of police. Dozens were injured and hundreds arrested in Nice in December of that year. In January 2001, police in Davos, Switzerland, used tear gas and rubber bullets to protect an annual conclave of New Economy gurus. Two hundred injuries resulted in Naples in March 2001, and a protest in Göteborg, Sweden, three months later led to 96 arrests. The Göteborg event also showed how scrupulously such events were being policed: 56 cops but only 3 protesters were seriously injured.

But it was at a meeting of the G-8 countries in Genoa, Italy, in July 2001, that the anti-globalists ran riot. The conference began with a series of letter bombs and continued with an unruly "march of the migrants." A day into the conference, wildly violent demonstrations against the police left 700 injured; in the worst incident, rioters in balaclavas and motorcycle helmets chased a police Land Rover into a narrow alley off the central piazza Alimonda. The police, panicking, drove their vehicle into a wall. Protesters leapt onto the Land Rover, bashed in the windows, and began attacking the police with crowbars and clubs. One of the masked attackers, a 23-year-old radical named Carlo Giuliani, picked up a fire extinguisher and tried to stave in the back of the vehicle. A young policeman, already bleeding from a head wound, shot Giuliani in the head, killing him.

September 11 put a damper on international conclaves, and has limited the occasions for organized protest. But it has also radicalized the movement. So when Florence was chosen last winter as the site of the first Europe-wide anti-globalist gathering, fears arose quite naturally that the gathering—and particularly the march that closed it—would be an occasion for more violence.

It wasn't. Fourteen special trains and 430 busloads of young people arrived on Saturday for the march against the American war in Iraq, swelling it to 450,000 people (a million, according to its organizers). But there were no violent incidents. The atmosphere was festive rather than menacing. Mobs of kids, with their omnipresent Palestinian keffiyehs and laboriously grown dreadlocks, linked arms, drank wine out of the bottle, roused their spirits by endlessly crooning "Bella Ciao" (a song of the old anti-Mussolini *partigiani* that sounds like "You Are My Sunshine" in a minor key), and laughed at off-color chants like *Quando guardo i miei coglioni / Vedo Bush e Berlusconi* ("When I look at my balls / I see Bush and Berlusconi").

The Left was positively gloating at the march's success—a gloating that surely owed much to shock. Only two bars had stayed open in the entire vast swath of the city through which the protesters had tramped, and when the proprietors returned they found mass-produced fliers pasted to their front doors reading: *Chiuso per estremo egoismo*—"Closed on account of extreme egotism." Marco Manetti, a book dealer in via Ricasoli who had kept his shop open, said, "I got pressure to close my shop. . . . But I decided to put up a challenge to ignorance." Domenici, the radical-chic mayor, sniffed, "There are a lot of people who should be offering apologies now." And *La Repubblica*, the national daily of the left intelligentsia, ran as a banner headline on page one: "Florence: A Celebration of Peace."

This gloating is decidedly premature. The behavior of anti-establishment radicals at their own convention is likely to be a poor indicator of what their behavior will be when they next confront an institution they consider to belong to the "establishment"—say, the European Council at its meeting next month in Copenhagen, or the G-8, scheduled to meet next in June. A better indicator is their ideology, as it has developed—and hardened—since September 11.

The people lumped together as the anti-globalist movement are in fact neither anti-globalist nor a movement. They—or at least the youths among them—delight in travel and mass immigration and the cultural variety (however short-term) that they provide. This is why they despise the description "anti-globalist" (or "*No-Global*" as they're called in Italy). Nor are they a movement so much as a group of left tendencies. The big guns at the Social Forum included the Italian environmentalist league Legambiente; the pipe-smoking smasher of McDonald's, José Bové of the French Peasant Confederation; Palestinian spokesman Mustafa Barghouti; Hector Mondragon of Colombia's National Peasant Council, which opposes America's plans to eradicate cocaine in the Colombian highlands; and several representatives of Attac, a French group active in 18 countries whose core issue is a tax on international currency trading.

What these groups have in common is opposition to either market capitalism or the United States, which serves more and more as a metonym for anything the groups oppose. That is why there were so few American radicals at the meetings. The most prominent was probably Colleen Kelly, who lost a brother in the World Trade Center attacks and then founded a group called Peaceful Tomorrows, a committee of 50 families of victims of September 11—the only 50, one imagines, who weren't positively delighted to see the United States rain vengeance on the Taliban. ("The day that America began to bomb Afghanistan," Kelly told the Forum at a morning seminar, "I cried. Because I thought about how many hundreds of young men like my brother would be there. At that

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NewsCom / Enrico Dagnino / Black Star

"U.S.A. and Israel, the true terrorists"

moment, I denounced my government, which does not represent me.") The tendencies gathered in Florence are coming to form a sort of globalized popular front.

It is tempting to view "anti-globalist" as little more than an umbrella description for those who seek to reinvigorate the old hard Left. There's some truth to this. The French Communist CGT trade union, a staple of the International in Cold War days, came to Florence in force. When Fausto Bertinotti, who leads Italy's Party of Communist Refoundation, took the stage in one of the giant halls in the Fortezza da Basso to announce that "War is the basis of the neoliberal economy, the same in essence as globalization," the crowd cheered him for five minutes. At a march on the U.S. Army base at Camp Darby in Pisa—this was a kind of sideshow that drew about 3,000 of the hard-liners floating around the fringe of the Social Forum—there was a representative of a group called Campo Antiimperialista. He was handing out fliers that called for the formation of "international brigades" (like those formed by left-wing intellectuals to fight in the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s) to travel to Iraq and defend it against American aggression. Another throwback at the Camp Darby march, this time to the sixties, was the Movimento Disoccupati—"Movement of the Unemployed"—who were holding their banners with one hand and passing joints with the other.

In this context, there is nothing surprising about their anti-Americanism. Susan George, an economist who works for Attac, warned the gathering two days after the U.S. elections that "the world has changed since Tuesday. . . . The 11th of September gave Bush the perfect opportunity to put his politics into action," and the midterms left her certain that Bush would seek to establish a "new worldwide empire." Sergio Cofferati, a prominent Italian labor leader, expressed his hopes that the Forum would convince the Third World that the First World was in fact split in two, and in a good way. He bemoaned that Third-World countries see no difference between the United States and Europe, that "under the surface there is the same will to use globalization as an instrument of neocolonial imperialist domination of the world."

Somewhat surprising is that so little was made at the Forum of the two great hobbyhorses of European anti-Americanism: the United States's failure to ratify the Kyoto treaty on greenhouse gases, and the continuing recourse of certain states to the death penalty. The silence on these issues is an indication that they were only proxies in the first place, useful to a priori America-haters until they could find a more solid basis for their anti-Americanism. The absence of old anti-American saws is a sign that this anti-Americanism is not of Communist origin. And the more ardently these anti-globalists excoriate the American political class, the more likely they are to describe themselves as "culturally pro-American"—by which they generally mean they like movies and the blues.

So, yes, the groups are held together by an opposition to liberal capitalism. But there appears to be something new about the radicalism that arises in the new economy. The University of Florence sociologist Paolo Ceri, who has written several sympathetic books on the *No-Global* movement, has suggested an explanation. For Ceri, the high-tech economy changes other systems—governmental, social, military—in a way that the old capitalist economy didn't. It does this by creating a specialization of roles in all walks of life. As a result of free trade, for instance, very few countries today are self-sufficient in food production, which is why Bové's peasant group and others at the Forum held so many seminars on achieving "food sovereignty" for Europe. But the effects of high-tech capitalism can be more complex. Thanks to economies of scale, among other factors, the United States has become the West's specialist in warfare. Occupying that role tempts it to take unfair advantage of other countries. So militaristic expansion and economic imperialism are, for the anti-globalists, two ways of saying the same thing. This critique is much more coherent and radical than the one that anti-capitalists were putting forward in the 1990s.

Anti-globalists differ on when their movement got its start. Some trace its beginnings to the Rio Earth Summit

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in 1992, others to the foundation of the World Trade Organization in 1995, and others to San Francisco environmentalist Jerry Mander's founding in 1994 of the International Forum on Globalization, a kind of Internet clearinghouse that links these various groups. But assuming a start somewhere in the early 1990s, its transformation has been rapid. Ceri thinks that, until 1995, anti-globalization was a pretty straightforward "old politics" of protecting the environment and human rights. Between 1995 and 1999, these strands got bound together, into a politically correct exaltation of diversity—biodiversity and cultural diversity.

This synthesis opened the way to what has become the central focus of the anti-globalists over the last three years: the inequality between "north" and "south," between the developed and the undeveloped world. This focus has made the movement narrower than it was ten—or even three—years ago. (It is hard to believe nationalists like Pat Buchanan felt at home joining this band when it protested in Seattle.) It has given the movement an agenda—in favor of Third World debt cancellation and against multinationals—that has made America the scapegoat for more concrete reasons. And it has focused on values—on the categorical imperative of treating the underprivileged "fairly," through a sort of global income redistribution—that alter the logic of anti-Americanism. The problem, for anti-globalists, is not that America is "arrogant" because it is privileged, but that it is privileged because it is dishonest. This logic has the potential to make the movement considerably more violent.

Reuters / Stefano Rellandini

Florence was peaceful, but the movement is likely to become more violent.

Paolo Ceri thinks the matter of violence is a tricky one. "With a few exceptions, the many associations and groups that make up the no-global galaxy declare themselves pacifist," Ceri writes. "But there are pacifists, and there are pacifists. The facts show that not all pacifists have acted peacefully. There are many ways of not being peaceful. The most widespread is an ambivalent attitude towards violence. Language is the surest indicator of this."

Down the street from "the Hub," the makeshift dorms in the Piazza della Libertà where young people danced until 3:00 A.M. most nights before collapsing into their sleeping bags, a Dutch group was parked in a rented tour bus. This bus was covered in posters, one of which was the famous image of Che Guevara silhouetted in black on a red background. But on a second look, you realized that it was a picture not of Che but of Osama bin Laden.

This was typical. All the groups at the Fortezza da Basso traveled in the name of pacifism, but the only people they enjoined to follow the pacifist path were governments and institutions facing armed insurgencies. Palestinian liberation seemed at times to be the main purpose of the gathering, and anti-Israel sentiments threatened to drown out anti-American ones. When Palestinian spokesman Mustafa Barghouti told a gathering inside the Fortezza da Basso that he would make "a promise to you," one expected some boilerplate about living up to the noble pacifist ideals of his hosts. But no. His promise was that "we as Palestinians will never ever stop our struggle. Nothing will break our will. . . . The Palestinian struggle has become the issue of all free people in the world." The crowd went berserk with applause. One saw hundreds of Palestinian flags in the course of those five days in Florence. (And no Italian ones. Zero.) At the big Saturday march, people were chanting, "*Palestina, terra e libertà / intifada vincerà.*" At the march on Camp Darby there were Israeli flags with sky-blue swastikas in place of the Star of David.

Even if one takes the reasonable-people-can-differ view of the Middle East conflict, the thoroughness with which the assembly welcomed every terrorist, guerrilla army, and freelance maimer of civilians could only be marveled at. The ELA, the radical trade union that represents the Herri Batasuna terrorists in Spain's Basque country, was there. The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, which had been expressly banned from the first Porto Alegre Global Forum, had no official delegation, but all of their propaganda was being handed out by third parties. A small delegation at the Camp Darby march was agitating in favor of

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the elected dictatorship of Venezuela's Hugo Chávez. And a presiding hero of the gathering, his name on everyone's lips as a kind of spiritual founding father, was Comandante Marcos, leader of the Zapatista National Liberation Army in Mexico.

The only two portrait-posters visible besides the bin Laden one featured the Kurdish terrorist Abdullah Oçalan and Carlo Giuliani, the protester killed while attacking the police in the Genoa demonstration. Giuliani, shown in jogging pants, smiling sweetly and drinking a beer, was treated as a martyr, his death as an unprovoked aggression. This decontextualization of left-wing violence was the rule. Never was Palestinian terrorism mentioned. The American attack on Afghanistan was mentioned in every single panel I attended, but the attacks of September 11 were never adduced as a cause. Only as a non-cause. As Giovanni Berlinguer, son of the late Italian Communist leader Enrico Berlinguer, put it: "The lesson of September 11 is that the global market creates anger. We are going to get more violence."

If there was no violence at the Florence events, it was still a close-run thing. Border controls, eliminated under the European Union's Schengen treaties, had been temporarily reestablished for the March. But there were plenty of thugs within the country. The No Globals in Bologna boarded their trains saying they were enacting an "autoreduction" of fares, paying 5 euros instead of 20. Then there was the friendly group of "Ultras" I tagged along with at Camp Darby. This is a hard-line Communist group drawn from supporters of the Livorno soccer team. They were carrying flags attached to two-pound poles that doubled as blackjacks (an old demonstration trick); as we walked home from the protest, one guy was banging the highway guardrails with his, and *denting* them. Others at the Camp Darby march had brought motorcycle helmets.

I Disobbedienti, a group led by a fellow named Luca Casarini, has perfected a protest technique called the "blitz." They put on white ski masks and trash a place, as they did the border post at Italy's Slovenian border. They also tried to stage a blitz at a Caterpillar tractor factory ("guilty of providing Israel with the tractors used to destroy Palestinian homes"). Casarini's larger goal was to put an end to the "*buonismo*" of the march. "Those who make plain their opposition to war through parades don't go far enough," he said. "We have to go beyond that. . . . If this is war, we will act." His colleague Francesco Caruso was more specific: "The moment the first bomb falls, all groups will march on the consulates and embassies, laying siege to them. Then we will enter the arms factories and try to stop production." (Note: As we go to press on November 15, Caruso has just been arrested by Italian police for instigating violence.)

Such acts tend paradoxically to reassure bourgeois observers that the anti-globalization movement is a fringe phenomenon. Such reassurance is out of place. Christian Losson, who has covered the movement for years for the left-wing Paris daily *Libération*, notes that people have been predicting the demise of the anti-globalists for years. Instead, the movement has broadened its base steadily, to the point where it is now—without "selling out"—assimilating huge parts of the old Left to its own agenda. Take non-governmental organizations. At a meeting in Senegal in August 2001, Losson notes, Amnesty International changed its mandate for the first time—broadening its concerns from human rights to social and economic ones. Since the Doha conference of the WTO last year, Greenpeace has begun to attack international economic and banking institutions as well as polluters. Or take the labor movement. In the early days, unions shunned anti-globalist gatherings. Only at Nice in 2000 did unions join the protests in large numbers. There were no trade unions at Genoa, but at the Florence march, Italy's huge umbrella union, the CGIL, provided the security, and the European Confederation of Trade Unions was also represented.

Now it is the turn of the political parties to get absorbed. Years ago, only the Greens took part in *No-Global* events, and then only gingerly. But now, in Italy at least, even the old center-left parties want a piece of the new radical action. The Italian Left, gathered into a broad front called the Olive Tree for the past half decade, today faces problems strikingly similar to those of the Democratic party in the United States: Facing a strong premier (the opportunistic Silvio Berlusconi), they have run out of ideas, and the resulting lack of direction has left them mired in infighting. So they are now exceedingly inclined to clutch at anything on the left that appears to have energy.

Piero Fassino, secretary of the Democratic Socialists, considers the movement one of "extraordinary interest." Tuscany's governor Claudio Martini is angry that the Olive Tree, to which he belongs, did not send an official delegation to the peace march. And even former Socialist prime minister Romano Prodi—who as the head of the European Commission is the most powerful politician in the European Union—says, "The words of the young have a meaning. We should be listening to them, even if they sound strange to us, and translate them into politics: We should not condescend to them, nor should we be their adversaries." In an interview with the daily *La Stampa*, Prodi added, "The kids who attended the Forum have been heard; and we [politicians] should come out of our bunkers."

Even if that means everyone else should go into theirs. ♦

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Modern Ancients

Stanley Rosen's achievement

By THOMAS HIBBS

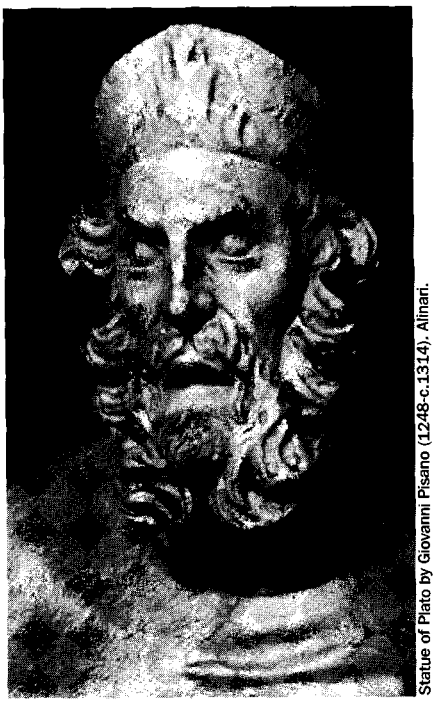
Born in 1929—a contemporary of Alasdair MacIntyre and Charles Taylor—Stanley Rosen is the contemporary philosopher most resistant to classification. Like Allan Bloom, Rosen studied with both Leo Strauss and Alexander Kojève, but of all the famous students of those professors, Rosen is perhaps the only one known more for epistemology and metaphysics than for political philosophy.

Now nearing the end of a long career at Penn State and Boston University, Rosen is still turning out students and actively publishing. Even his older books continue to exert influence, as is evident by the decision of St. Augustine's Press to reprint a number of his now classic works, including: *Plato's Symposium*, *Metaphysics in Ordinary Language*, *The Question of Being: A Reversal of Heidegger*, and *The Ancients and the Moderns: Rethinking Modernity.*

Statue of Aristotle by Giovanni Pisano (1248-c.1314). Alinari.

It is, above all, Rosen's peculiar way of framing the quarrel between ancients and moderns that constitutes his singular contribution. Like the host of Straussians—like MacIntyre and Taylor, for that matter—Rosen writes books that, despite their diverse topics, inevitably return to the question of the ancients and the moderns. But he does not fit neatly into the categories Charles Taylor once labeled "the boosters and the knockers" of modernity. Rosen frequently quotes a passage from Nietzsche to which Strauss first drew his attention: "Whispered into the ear of the conservative. . . . A reversal in any sense and to any degree is surely not possible . . . : No one is free to be a crab. There is no getting round it: One must go forward." Though a defender of Plato, Rosen does not take refuge in antiquity as an escape from modernity. Indeed, he depicts Socrates as a figure who accomplishes such Enlightenment goals as bringing philosophy into the city and putting conventional opinion to the test of reason.

At the same time, Rosen does not flinch from harsh judgments about the modern era and its crisis for Western civilization. We are, he starkly puts it, "in the midst of nihilism." And he is quick to lay the blame on modernity itself, or at least on its most radical strains. (One of his central and most provocative claims is that postmodernism is simply modernity carried to a self-destructive extreme.) Moderns are, according to Rosen, their own worst enemy. In their hasty repudiation of ancient wisdom and ordinary, pre-scientific experience, they have lost access to the "terms that best describe their own project." Modernity involves a kind of forgetfulness.



Statue of Plato by Giovanni Pisano (1248-c.1314). Alinari.

But the proper response to this modern crisis is not—according to Rosen—a return to the politics of virtue, which, if consistently implemented, would require tyrannical measures in which radical modernity would engender an equally radical anti-modernity. Because crisis is to varying degrees intrinsic to human life, the appropriate response is prudent "negotiation." We need to recover a sense of the nobility of the modern project—and for such a recovering, the ancients, especially Plato, can be of tremendous assistance.

Take modern science and technology, for instance. Both are at once the great sources of modern forgetfulness and the chief obstacles to reviving ancient thought. On Rosen's reading, it is Plato, rather than Aristotle, who can best accommodate developments in modern science. Intellectual historians often note Plato's emphasis on the normative intelligibility of mathematics, and the dialogue *Timaeus* seems to

Thomas Hibbs is chairman of the philosophy department at Boston College.

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assert the mathematical structure of the physical universe.

But Rosen thinks there are other, more important anticipations of modernity in Plato. Plato pairs the theoretical, contemplative activity of the intellect with a "practico-productive" activity, which involves fashioning or constructing the political and cultural conditions of human life. What's more, Plato shares with moderns a sense of the deep "discontent of human beings in the cosmos," a sense that nature is indifferent or even hostile to human aspirations. These themes—of constructing political life and of rendering nature more pliable to human designs—are the leitmotifs of the most influential moderns, whose goal is to render human beings "masters and possessors of nature," as Descartes famously put it.

On its face, this seems to make Plato little more than an immature modern. But for Rosen, the nihilistic crisis of modernity requires us to attempt "the recovery of ordinary experience," which provides the "starting points of philosophical investigation." This is Socratic philosophy. While allowing for the flourishing of technical accounts of nature, it retains roots in common, pre-scientific and pre-technical experience. By contrast, modern science and the analytic strain in modern philosophy seek to create a technical language to depict reality—and thus deprive themselves of the language they need to explain what they're doing and why it's important. Moreover, if there is no common world prior to philosophy and science, choice becomes arbitrary and we are well on our way to a decadent postmodernism.

The primacy of ordinary experience does not establish common sense as an infallible guide, nor does it discount the revolutionary and extraordinary task of the philosopher. Philosophy "originates as a disjunction from ordinary experience," but it aims to answer questions that arise in or from ordinary life. The "extraordinary derives its significance" from the ordinary, which is the source of intelligibility for all human endeavor.

In Platonic fashion, Rosen sees philosophy as linking the human to the divine, the mundane to the transcendent. Here he echoes Strauss and Kojève: The true philosopher is akin to a god, and the human animal is by nature philosophical. In an ordinary human life, philosophy is at work in the making of "sound judgments about ordinary experience" and in the deliberative and reflective capacity to distinguish better and worse ways of life. Everyone has desires and pursues goals that are at least potentially in conflict with one another. Among these desires and goals, agents must select which to pursue and in what way. Thus every human being makes judgments about better and worse, and thus, at least implicitly, engages in philosophy.

Courtesy: Boston University.

Plato's Symposium
by Stanley Rosen
St. Augustine's, 428 pp., $32

Metaphysics in Ordinary Language
by Stanley Rosen
St. Augustine's, 302 pp., $24

The Question of Being
A Reversal of Heidegger
by Stanley Rosen
St. Augustine's, 367 pp., $27

The Ancients and the Moderns
Rethinking Modernity
by Stanley Rosen
St. Augustine's, 248 pp., $23

As Rosen depicts it, desire—*eros*—is the "middle term between knowledge and the good life." And it is precisely this linking ability of *eros* that modernity, with its celebration of instrumental reason and its exaltation of endless technical progress, threatens to destroy. What Plato offers to modernity is the possibility of reestablishing the intrinsic connection between reason and the good.

Along the way, however, Rosen's rich philosophy seems to close its eyes to some of the problems that science creates for us. The difficulty is this: The world described by mathematical physics often appears not just different from, but fundamentally antithetical to, the world accessible in ordinary experience. Complex and multiple pictures of reality are preferable to a simplistic, unified vision, but to what extent can the human intellect rest satisfied with incompatible versions of the same experience, with a two-worlds vision of reality?

Here the approach of Husserl and Aristotle, who think philosophy must be involved directly in science, seems more useful than Rosen admits. He applauds Plato for acknowledging the extent to which nature is at odds with human aspiration—and then briefly and curiously observes that he does not reject the "ancient notion of natural order." This is precisely where more needs to be said. If we cannot sustain philosophically and scientifically the notion of natural order, then the very foundation of the Platonic Ideas, even as hypothetical, will be undercut.

Still, one should credit Rosen with seeing that contemporary philosophy has not too little but too great a concern with the methods of science. This concern even invaded the interpretation of Plato. When Rosen first published a book-length study of Plato's *Symposium* in the 1960s, Plato studies were dominated by philological historicism, which exhausted itself in the dating of dialogues, and analytical philosophy, which focused on the technical examination of arguments uprooted from context, and gave Plato credit for little beyond anticipating later developments in logic.

To these approaches, Rosen addressed pointed questions: What evidence is there for the view that the dia-

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logues record the history of Plato's mental development? By what right do we disregard the central phenomenon of the dramatic context of every argument in the dialogues? What if Plato's conception of "rational argument" is decisively broader than our own? How can we ignore Socratic and Platonic irony? In a series of books devoted to analysis of the dramatic structure of the dialogues, Rosen aimed to return Plato to his "intended audience": "the intelligent and imaginative reader who is trying to reconsider the opinions of his day concerning life as a whole." The "pedagogical or medicinal" goal of the dialogues is to "lead the young to philosophy and mitigate the diseases of ignorance and thoughtlessness."

The dialogues are thus *dramas*. Like Shakespeare, Plato says nothing in his own name. Each speech or argument must be interpreted "relative to its specific dramatic situation" within the dramatic flow of the entire dialogue. Not even Socrates, unquestionably the central character, always speaks for Plato. In the *Symposium*, for example, which addresses *eros* as mediator between the divine and the human, Socrates himself is depicted as a student of Diotima, whose lessons Socrates seems not to have fully mastered. Indeed, Socrates embodies only part of *eros*, the part that has a thrust toward the divine. But Socrates' hubris and seeming indifference to the love of individual human beings is "not in tune with generated or corporeal human nature." The complexity of human nature and the limitations to human reason underscore the incompleteness of the path of pure reason. In its quest for the divine, philosophy requires the assistance of poetry and myth. The dialogue encompasses all these modes of speech; thus it is the dialogue in its entirety, not just the character of Socrates, that provides the complete teaching on *eros*.

Rosen has won all these battles, and with his literary approach to Platonic dialogues now the norm even in philosophy departments, he seems to have permanently altered the shape of the scholarly field. But we face, as a consequence, a new problem: a risk of reducing Plato's dialogues to mere literature, containing little of value to philosophers. Certainly this was never the intention of Rosen, whose interpretations of Plato have always had a philosophical edge. Indeed, in his attempt to unsettle the conventional academic approaches to Plato, Rosen seems to have taken to heart Nietzsche's advice to philosophize with a hammer.

If Anglo-American interpretations of Plato have tended to downplay the philosophical significance of the dialogues, Continental philosophers have accentuated Plato's determinative influence on all of Western metaphysics and ethics. But they do so, following the lead of Heidegger, by seeing Plato as a seedbed of error and illusion, the source of an infection that has proven fatal to philosophy itself. Rosen identifies Heidegger as the "biggest obstacle" to the recovery of philosophy. Even more than Strauss, whose turn to the ancients was prompted by attending Heidegger's lectures, Rosen engages in a direct, sustained confrontation with Heidegger.

Alinari

Cosimo the Elder Among Philosophers and Artists *by Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574).*

Heidegger's genealogy of modernity runs this way: By its exaltation of conceptual and technological thinking, Western civilization has reduced Being to an empty concept that captures only the most general and average features of the experience of what exists. By conceiving Being as an idea present to intelligence, Western philosophy reduces Being to something produced by human intelligence, a product disposable by the whims of the human will. Thus does it pave the way for an utterly technical and instrumentalist conception of reason and the good. Heidegger traces these developments to Plato's doctrine of separate, transcendent Ideas, which are the basis for the intelligibility of sensible things.

For Heidegger as for Rosen, Plato is in a certain sense the first modern. But here agreement ends. According to Rosen, Heidegger badly misreads Plato; for all its philological and philosophical sophistication, Heidegger's interpretation suffers from the same defects that have afflicted the reading of Plato in standard academic treatises. Heidegger neglects the dramatic form of the dialogues—evident in his habit of contextless analysis of passages about the Ideas—and reads all sorts of later developments back into the text.

Platonic metaphysics is not a matter of establishing a science of Being. Instead, it involves the more fundamental and more elusive task of thinking the whole. Since *eros* finds little or no place in Heidegger's interpretation of Plato, it is inevitable that he should misconstrue Platonic philosophy. Philosophy addresses the human longing to orient oneself in and with respect to

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the entire order of things. Indeed, the ideas themselves have a hypothetical status in Plato; they serve to account for the intelligibility of sensible particulars and for our ability to distinguish between better and worse courses of action. Philosophy is not so much a matter of advocating a specific set of doctrines as it is a way of life.

Heidegger's cure for what ails the West is no better than his diagnosis of the disease. In language that becomes increasingly poetic and obscure, he counsels a return to Being rather than beings, or, even more obscurely, an attempt to think the difference between Being and beings. Rosen counters that the attempt to think Being itself or difference will quickly prove fruitless, evaporate into nothingness, as it is only particular beings that provide content for thought. Moreover, Heidegger's longing to overcome technical reason and voluntarism leads him to celebrate the passivity of the human individual before the speech of Being. But this, according to Rosen, only ends up exacerbating our situation, since it deprives us of any standard for preferring one course of action to another—or, indeed, for preferring action to inaction. "It remains permanently unclear why Heidegger's resolution of the problem of nihilism is not itself nihilism on the grand scale."

If Rosen faults analytic philosophy for its excessive attachment to science, he detects the opposite in the Heideggerian strain of twentieth-century Continental philosophy: a tendency to turn philosophy into bad poetry, or, as Rosen memorably describes it, "orientalist kitsch and Gothic etymologizing." Just as modern philosophy vacillates between excessive confidence in the power of reason and skepticism, so it seems to shift between a preoccupation with mathematical models of intelligibility and an obsession with a mystical poetics. Both are forms of making, types of *techne* or *poesis*—and thus it is predictable that modern *poesis*, which ought to complement *eros*, instead seems so often limited to what calculative, human reason can comprehend and control. Modernity deems especially repugnant the notion of subordination to a transcendent good, however hypothetical.

Rosen might well be right about the strengths and weaknesses of the Enlightenment project and about the correctives available in Plato. But one wonders whether there is not something inherent in, and essential to, the modern project, in its political and scientific forms, that will never allow it to be subordinated to the transcendent. Here theological issues surface in a decisive way—and Rosen remains relatively silent about the theological or anti-theological roots of modernity, the way in which modern philosophy is parasitic on medieval theology. If modernity finds itself intrinsically at odds with the supernatural, attempting to find a way to defuse, or at least bring under human control, the powerful impetus toward the divine, then how likely is it that it will ever embrace the divine madness of Socrates? ♦

The Right Choice

Hadley Arkes on natural rights from the Declaration to Roe *v.* Wade. BY PETER AUGUSTINE LAWLER

Hadley Arkes is a frustrated man. All he wants to do is to get his fellow citizens to talk with him seriously on the fundamental moral and political issue of our time: abortion. And he has been tireless in provoking such conversation through his writing, lobbying, testifying, and other political activism. It's a shameful commentary on the present state of our liberal democracy that he has achieved so little success.

Courtesy: Amherst College.

Natural Rights and the Right to Choose
by Hadley Arkes
Cambridge Univ. Press, 288 pp., $28

In his new *Natural Rights and the Right to Choose*, Arkes defends with plenty of reasons his view that "the right to choose" (really, the right to unlimited sexual freedom) has undermined the foundation of both natural rights and our constitutional order. To make sense, rights must be limited—by the rights of others, if nothing else. And the proposition of our intellectual political class seems to be that the unborn really have no rights, no claim for dignity at all, that we are bound as free and rational beings to respect.

That proposition, Arkes is convinced, cannot withstand the test of reason. He has a Socratic confidence in the power of reason to lead us to the truth about our natural limits and purposes, and so he is equally convinced that the crisis of our time is rooted, in large measure, in our lack of confidence in reason. Too many of our intellectuals—even too many conservative constitutionalists, such as Robert Bork and Antonin Scalia—are unreasonably skeptical about reason. Too many pro-life conservatives do not want to join in Arkes's conversation because they wrongly believe that reason is the enemy of moral decency. Those who *believe* that abortion is wrong are too often silent in public

Peter Augustine Lawler is Dana Professor of Government at Berry College and author of Aliens in America: The Strange Truth about Our Souls.

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because they do not think they can really convince their fellow citizens that their belief is true.

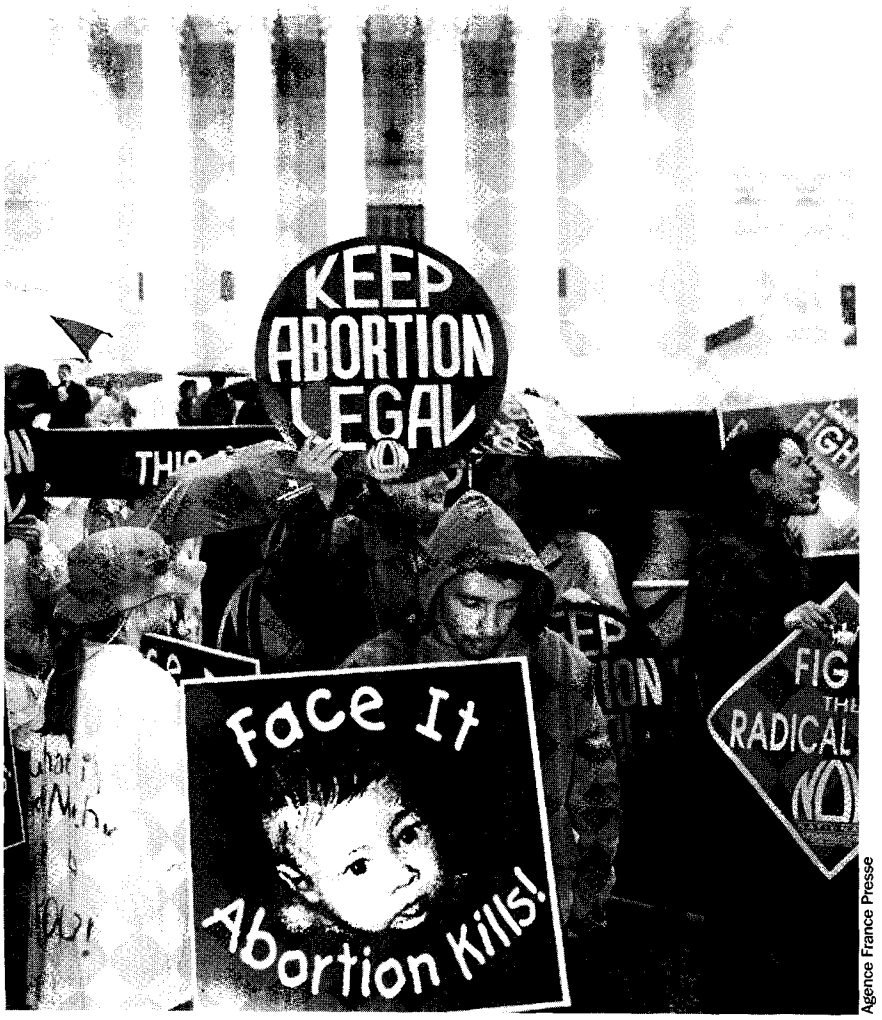
In *Natural Rights and the Right to Choose*, Arkes seems most of all to aim to convince his fellow moral conservatives to help him instigate a national conversation on abortion—and to convince them that reason is actually their best weapon in their effort to limit and eventually eradicate abortion through law. Conservatives even more than liberals need to understand that the pro-life position has an essentially secular basis in our Founding principles and in truthful reflection on human nature.

President Bush is certainly pro-life, but he followed the precedent set by most of his Republican predecessors when he refused to say during his campaign why he thought abortion wrong. Bush also followed precedent by refusing to explain to Americans why *Roe* v. *Wade* and subsequent pro-abortion Supreme Court decisions were wrongly decided. Indeed, he seemed to suggest that it is somehow unconstitutional for an elected official to challenge the constitutional wisdom of the Court.

But Lincoln, as Arkes points out, declined to accept the Court's notorious pro-slavery error in *Dred Scott* v. *Sandford*, and he taught Americans that ours is an anti-slavery regime. The refusal to bring sound and irrefutable arguments against *Roe*—to expose the fact that it unconstitutionally deprived American citizens of their right to make moral choices on abortion—is the largest error of Republican politicians in our time.

Not just a lack of confidence, but a moral weakness, lies at the heart of this refusal. Arkes points out that Republican legislators often prefer to have courts take abortion out of their hands—so they can then shake their heads and complain that there's nothing to be done about it. If *Roe* were reversed, our legislators would have to deliberate about what sort of pro-life legislation is warranted. That controversy would cause them great difficulty and no doubt ruin some careers.

Arkes sees the Democratic view of abortion as both smarter and more pernicious than the Republican view. The pro-choice Democrats do everything they can to squelch argument on abortion. Their demand is not only that no law restrict abortion but that it be deemed beyond the pale for anyone to say in public anything against it. Their increasingly obstinate position resembles that of the leading southerners prior to the Civil War, who demanded not only that no anti-slavery legislation be passed but also that slavery be regarded as a positive good under the Constitution.



Agence France Presse

Arkes's claim is that the Democrats are right: A national argument over, say, partial-birth abortion could easily unleash a train of thought that would lead to the discrediting of all abortion in America. I tend to think it will be more difficult than Arkes believes to make effectively the argument that laws allowing abortion are unconstitutional. For one thing, Arkes's confidence in the power of reason to inform practical life directly seems naive. For another, his presentation of the American Founding identifies modern "natural rights" with classical "natural right," as well as with the "natural law" teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas. In *Natural Rights and the Right to Choose*, he presents the great tradition of Western political thought as more seamless than it really is.

If we understand America in light of Lockean "natural rights" alone, as some conservatives do, there is a line of thought that leads to the promiscuous application of the principle of consent to all areas of human life. Locke can be viewed as the grandfather of the soft libertarianism of our time.

To take Arkes's challenge seriously, we must begin a national debate over the true understanding of human nature and human dignity. Indeed,

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there is an additional urgency to this argument now, as the threats of biotechnology begin to loom over us. Unless we become clear as a nation that abortion is wrong, women will—I predict—eventually find themselves compelled to submit to therapeutic abortions of genetically defective babies and then to do whatever is required to enhance their children genetically.

Some of this, of course, is already happening informally through pressure imposed by physicians and HMOs. But the real coercion has not yet begun. We will not be able to protect the genuine reproductive freedom of women—their right to have and love their own babies—unless there is a pro-life consensus embodied in our law. Those who believe the effective regulation of biotechnological development can be morally neutral about abortion are simply wrong. ♦

Greek to Us

Why we need the classics, now more than ever.

BY CHRISTOPHER M. MCDONOUGH

My fellow classicists will know what I mean when I say that I hate the question "What do you teach?" because I never know quite how to respond. In the past when I've answered, "classics," I've been told how much my interlocutor loves Mark Twain or Dickens, or been asked (this from a medical doctor), "Oh, which instrument?" Nowadays I mostly reply, "Latin and Greek," which isn't entirely true and which almost always results in a nervous silence. Sure, it's handy for killing chitchat on airplanes, but it sometimes unnerves me to think just how dead is our Greco-Roman heritage.

Climbing Parnassus
A New Apologia for Greek and Latin
by Tracy Lee Simmons
ISI, 290 pp., $24.95

In his new book, *Climbing Parnassus*, Tracy Lee Simmons (a journalism professor at Hillsdale College) ponders similar issues, offering in readable prose a spirited defense of classical education while surveying the history of the tradition. His title refers to the ascent up the mountain where Apollo and the Muses were thought to reside, and which has since become "code for the painfully glorious exertions of Greek and Latin." In the writings of the ancient authors, Simmons argues, we find all the wisdom which any age might ever hope to attain. For help with not just your SAT scores but also your immortal soul, it is advisable to lift up your eyes to this mountain.

At one time, classics was considered the queen of the humanities, the loftiest of the liberal arts, which conferred civilization itself upon its adherents. Simmons waxes eloquent upon this high-minded concept: "Liberal education ought to aim not just at furnishing the mind with serviceable knowledge and information, nor even at habituating the mind to rational methods, but at leading it to wisdom, to a quality of knowledge tempered by experience and imbued with understanding. It should, in a word, humanize." He discusses at some length the history of humanism, which he contrasts with humanitarianism—the latter concerned to perfect all mankind, the former more sincerely interested in cultivating as much as possible the individual soul.

This is, of course, exactly the problem. The impression of elitism is one of the things that drove people away from classics: the fact that you cannot *do* anything with it gives the discipline a suspicious air of fecklessness such as only those with money can afford. But though classics was once the purview of the wealthy, Simmons remarks, "we should not confuse contingency with necessity. That which may cater to the privileged in one period might prime the aspirations of democracy in another." (I'm reminded here of an anecdote about the student who was asked in a job interview what the point of his classics major had been. "It trains you to be a Roman emperor.")

So how did the queen of the humanities come to be pushed off her throne? Or, as Victor Davis Hanson and John Heath asked in the title of their treatise on the topic a few years back, *Who Killed Homer?* Simmons does not address exactly this issue, though Hanson and Heath pointed the finger at academic hipsters and trend-followers, whose solipsistic, jargon-laden prose has no doubt contributed to putting the ancients that much further out of the general public's reach.

But the deeper roots of the problem can be traced to various transformations in American and European culture over the last century or so. In the 1880s, for instance, after Harvard did away with its strictly prescribed curriculum by introducing the "free-elective" system, which allowed students to choose their own course of study, schools all over the country eagerly followed suit. Under this new laissez-faire arrangement, classics wilted, while disciplines deemed more suitable for the dawning new century throve.

The culture of the Old World, meanwhile, suffered irrevocable damage in the First World War: If the widescale appreciation of Greek and Latin has any grave, it is surely to be found among those in the poppies of Flanders fields. Indeed, to the generation that came of age in the great war's wake, classical education itself symbolized the old, rotten *ancien régime*. "Yesterday the belief in the absolute value of Greek," W.H. Auden wrote in "Spain 1937," "but to-day the struggle." Auden may not have felt that way in

Christopher M. McDonough is an assistant professor of classics at the University of the South (Sewanee).

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The Tower of Babel in a fifteenth-century manuscript.

the ensuing decades—Simmons quotes a later essay in which the poet castigates an inarticulate film review in the *New Yorker* as something only a writer without "a classical education could have perpetrated"—but, nonetheless, by mid-century there was no going back to *amo, amas, amat.* The G.I. Bill of 1944 pushed American education still further away from the "impractical" classics, and the Second Vatican Council's sanctioning of the vernacular undercut the place of Latin in many of the nation's Catholic schools.

The subtitle of Simmons's book—*A New Apologia for Greek and Latin*—is really something of a misnomer, since the author's position is in no way dogmatic (a matter noted with relief by William F. Buckley on the first page of his foreword). With a reluctant but firm tone, Simmons ends his introduction by asking, "Can someone be 'classically educated' without a reading knowledge of Greek and Latin?"—and he answers, "Not all knowledge worth having need be worn with scholastic exactitude." Yet, in his final chapter, he cites approvingly a little-known essay of C.S. Lewis entitled "The Parthenon and the Optative," in which a trifling awareness of Greek art is contrasted with the rigors of Greek philology:

> "The trouble with these boys," said a grim old classical scholar looking up from some milk-and-watery entrance papers which he had been marking: "the trouble with these boys is that the masters have been talking to them about the Parthenon when they should have been talking to them about the Optative." [The "Optative" is one of the moods of the Greek verb] . . . Ever since then I have tended to use the Parthenon and the Optative as the symbols of two types of education. The one begins with hard, dry things like grammar, and dates, and prosody; and it has at least the chance of ending in a real appreciation which is equally hard and firm though not equally dry. The other begins in "Appreciation" and ends in gush. . . . It teaches a man to feel vaguely cultured while he remains in fact a dunce.

It may be that Lewis has set up a false dichotomy here, since there are many who will never be led to the Optative unless they are first taught that there is such a thing as the Parthenon. But surely nobody will disagree that, in important matters, even the most tedious details need mastering. The question is whether Greek and Latin are still among those important matters.

In the end, *Climbing Parnassus* is not really a clarion call for the study either of the classical languages or of classical literature per se, though Simmons has much good to say about both. The book has no sustained engagement with any single classical author or work, and, tellingly, Simmons's discussion of Ciceronianism is longer than any of his remarks about Cicero himself.

But that's because the book's true concern is less with the classics than with the Classical Tradition, the reception of antiquity in subsequent ages and the unbroken chain of edifying culture it represents. The long chapter entitled "Prospect from the Castalian Spring" sketches with journalistic esprit the ways in which the study of Latin and Greek from Ausonius to Mr. Chips has inspired its followers to precise expression and the disinterested pursuit of truth. Among the most notable beneficiaries of this tradition were the Founding Fathers. As we set rockily forth in a new century, very few undergraduates have the courage to major in Greek and Latin when the cost of a college education is so very high and when much of what our culture prizes is so very stupid anyway. Tracy Lee Simmons's book is a timely reminder of how much the West has derived from its classical roots. The climb up Parnassus is eminently worth making, and this volume worth reading. ♦

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"I'm a doctor of comparative literature. Would you characterize your tragic circumstances as being more Chekhovian or Shakespearean in nature? Explain."

Books in Brief

***Ghost Image* by Joshua Gilder (Simon & Schuster, 350 pp., $23).** Switching careers is always difficult—and moving from just about any other profession to successful novel-writing may be the most difficult of all. While it hardly qualifies as high literature, former White House speechwriter Joshua Gilder's first effort—the medical thriller *Ghost Image*—demonstrates a great deal of commercial and literary promise.

In the book's opening pages, workaholic plastic-surgery resident Dr. Jackson Maebry gets called to attend a horribly burnt and disfigured young woman. He enters the operating room, begins working, and soon realizes that the patient is his girlfriend: a public-relations bunny named Allie Sorosh who slinks around without underwear, gets into cat fights, and knows every bartender in town. As he works with his mentor Dr. Peter Brandt to patch up Allie's badly scarred body and rebuild her face, the police begin to take an interest in Maebry. To continue working on her, he keeps the details of his relationship with Allie hidden—and it's not too much to reveal that these details eventually come out, to his detriment. Allie herself hides a number of secrets, as, for that matter, do most of the book's other major characters.

Although Gilder wrote speeches for President Reagan and served in the State Department under George H.W. Bush, the novel—set in the Bay Area—offers little of political interest besides some offhand comments about managed care. At its core, *Ghost Image* is a medical thriller in the style of Robin Cook. (Thankfully, Gilder writes dialogue much better than Cook does.) Short chapters, a fast-moving plot, and a well-drawn supporting cast make this novel a good airplane read.

Gilder, it is very clear, has some more serious literary pretensions to indulge: He includes some philosophical musing and a bit of symbolism, neither of which adds much to the book. A few of his supporting characters—a Vietnam veteran police detective with an addiction to nasal spray and an alcoholic sculptor who serves as Maebry's landlord—are polished gems of careful characterization.

For all of Gilder's talents with the scenery, however, his protagonist never quite seems to come alive. Maebry is an unsympathetic, opaque, near-alcoholic who may well have done some terrible things. Gilder gives little evidence as to how or why Maebry fell in love with Allie or why a woman like Allie would ever have been attracted to the nebbishy internist. But one hardly reads books like this for perfection in characterization. *Ghost Image* is a good piece of popular fiction and its author has a promising literary career ahead of him.

—Eli Lehrer

***Horace: The Odes, New Translations by Contemporary Poets*, edited by J.D. McClatchy (Princeton University Press, 312 pp., $24.95).** The tradition of translating Horace into English has over the centuries made the greatest poet of Rome's Golden Age—Virgil's only rival—into an honorary English poet. The poetry of Horace leaves an aftertaste at once sweet and bitter. He can quicken, and slow down, the pulse. His poetry is urbane, sophisticated, and timeless. And it's a standing challenge. Such poets as Dryden and Pope once strutted their skill by making him speak with an English voice. Even such statesmen as Gladstone and John Quincy Adams—back in that lost age of humanely educated politicians—gave the job a stab. Horace was a member of the family.

This book will help initiate—and re-initiate—modern readers to some of the best lyric poetry ever produced. Translating Horace is worth any poet's time. What makes this new edition of Horace's *Odes* invigorating, though, is that the poems are rendered not by one hand, but by the best contemporary poets. This variety might have proven a disadvantage. But J.D. McClatchy has doled out his assignments wisely to the finest poets writing in English in

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England, America, and Ireland, and they've done their work well.

The best evocations come from Anthony Hecht, Donald Hall, Heather McHugh, Richard Howard, W.S. Merwin, Robert Pinsky, C.K. Williams, and Richard Wilbur. It's not clear how much Latin each poet knows, but all know English supremely, and that counts most in the translation of verse: mastery of the language you're going into, not out of.

For readers of Latin, we have Horace's text on each facing page to measure fidelity. Befitting the heady material they've been given, the poets hold to fairly strict (though not uniform) poetic forms. This is what dedicated skill can do when deflected from narcissistic service to the ego. The very humility of this project of artistic communion impresses. It may be true that great poetry is both too weighty and too delicate to bear the journey of translation, that it can't be translated and remain itself. Nonetheless, this collection shows that the effort, however unsuccessful at some turns, ennobles.

—Tracy Lee Simmons

***The Survival of Culture: Permanent Values in a Virtual Age*, edited by Hilton Kramer and Roger Kimball (Ivan R. Dee, 272 pp., $28.95), and *Lives of the Mind: The Use and Abuse of Intelligence from Hegel to Wodehouse* by Roger Kimball (Ivan R. Dee, 375 pp., $28.95).** In *The Survival of Culture*, Hilton Kramer and Roger Kimball—the editors of the *New Criterion*—collect ten essays on the fate of Western culture, particularly traditional institutions and morality. Two of the essays, one by David Pryce-Jones and another by Keith Windschuttle, are especially insightful. The essays on medical ethics in Britain, library administration, and Edmund Burke are interesting, but seem a little off-topic—if the topic is the fact that civilization is quite literally under attack.

The Survival of Culture concludes with a piece by Roger Kimball entitled "The Fortunes of Permanence." Kimball's writing always shows his fascination with evil, error, and delusion, but this essay—which lumps together terrorists, feminists, and various conceptual artists as barbarians trying to destroy or disillusion our civilization—is not Kimball at his best.

For that, the reader must turn to Kimball's essays collected in *Lives of the Mind*. Where "The Fortunes of Permanence" left one with an impression of intolerance, *Lives of the Mind* is a work of generous humanity. The intention of the book is to hold various intellectuals up to ethical standards, so that figures from Schiller to Kierkegaard are judged in part by their *use* of their intellectual gifts. The essays are so well written, and in general so full of color and biographical anecdote, that even the intellectuals Kimball comes out against, like Hegel, survive.

—Stephen Barbara

***How To Ruin Your Life* by Ben Stein (Hay, 110 pp., $12.95).** Ben Stein is conservatism's most enjoyable contradiction: intellectual mega-nerd and Hollywood bon vivant. His résumé is so vast that if you didn't know it was true you'd swear it was ridiculous: a White House speechwriter, movie actor, federal economist, author, screenwriter, game-show host, and the voice of television cartoon characters, and he started it all off as valedictorian of Yale Law School in the middle of the Vietnam War. In his half-humor, half-self-help book *How to Ruin Your Life*, Stein charts out the path to success by listing just about every bad choice one could make on a trip in the other direction. The result is thirty-five mini-essays with titles such as "Criticize Early and Often," "Be A Perfectionist," "Think Too Big," and "Whenever Possible, Say 'I Told You So.'" Stein has written a guidebook to success once before, the 1981 *Bunkhouse Logic*. That underappreciated gem reminds readers that life changes only when you get up and do something. In his new book, Stein takes a humorous tack on the million small habits that taken together define the character and tendencies of successful people. It's a funny and wise collection of old-fashioned advice from the coolest nerd around.

—Michael Long

***Why the Left Hates America: Exposing the Lies That Have Obscured Our Nation's Greatness* by Daniel J. Flynn (Prima, 272 pp., $23.95).** As executive director of Accuracy in Academia—a conservative group that watches over higher education—Dan Flynn has spent much of his adult life tangling with the radical Left. He's been shouted down, boycotted, and called names. In his new book *Why the Left Hates America*, he provides a compelling, breezy look at the political myopia and downright kookiness that characterizes the radical left on campus, in the media, and in Hollywood.

The book shines when Flynn catalogs the excesses of people who loathe everything the United States has ever touched: He effectively mixes personal anecdote with careful research. Some of the quotations he digs up from such luminaries as Susan Sontag and Noam Chomsky are almost too bad to be believed. The final chapter, a catalogue of what's good about America, works even better. It's touching and informative without ever turning schmaltzy. *Why the Left Hates America* breaks no new intellectual ground, but it's an interesting look at one of the nation's most twisted political subcultures.

—Eli Lehrer

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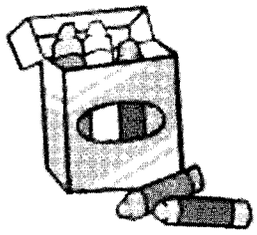
"Children under age 18 must have a parent or legal guardian's permission to submit their designs and for us to publish it along with their name."

—One of the terms and conditions of Planned Parenthood's "Roe at 30" poster contest

Parody



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PRO-CHOICE ACTIVISTS TARGET PLANNED PARENTHOOD

Providence, R.I. -- Chanting "Get Your Laws Off My Crayons!" and "In/Out, Caught/Sent, We Don't Need Parental Consent!" thousands of furious art students descended on the Planned Parenthood office here protesting an art contest designed to celebrate 30 years of legal abortion.

"This is hurtful to children. I fear it's going to lead to a generation of back-alley poster drawing," said Phoebe McRae-Dylan, 17, of Planned Parenthood's policy of forcing minors to get permission from parents and guardians before entering the contest.

"They don't understand the pressures real children face," added Winnie Mandela Goldberg, of lower Manhattan. "How am I going to tell my father I was planning to do a cubist rendering of a vacuum cleaner! When he went to the Rhode Island School of Design everything was pop sensibility and neo-Warholdian. He just doesn't get it."

Despite the protests, Planned Parenthood refused to alter its policy. "This isn't some little abortion we're talking about here," said spokeswomyn Gertrude Plath. "This is a poster! This is art! How is a child supposed to make intelligent coloring decisions about that? Not to mention perspective and proportion issues!"

Legal experts doubted that Planned Parenthood would be able to sustain a court challenge. "The privacy clause clearly gives art students the right to enter contests, regardless of age," says legal scholar Andrea Dworkin. "Suppose a 13-year-old girl is at the abortionist getting a ninth-month procedure done and she decides to memorialize the event in watercolor. Are the courts really going to suppress her right to express herself? I don't think so."

And certainly no amount of arguing is going to dissuade Sunshine Lopez, of Santa Clara, California. "It's my construction paper. It should be my choice. I just find it scary. I mean what is this, the 16th century or something?"

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Every Public School a Charter School?

Bill Evers is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and a member of Hoover's Koret Task Force on K–12 Education.

In 2000, Andrei Cherny—a senior speechwriter for Al Gore and principal author of the 2000 Democratic Party's national platform—wrote a fascinating but somewhat neglected book entitled *The Next Deal*. In his book, Cherny sketches a program of free trade, competition, decentralization, deregulation, and "trust in the people to make their own decisions" designed to appeal to members of the Internet generation.

To reform public education, Cherny proposes making every public school a charter school, empowering parents to choose which public charter school their child would attend, and letting these charter schools be managed by a variety of providers, including religious groups and private companies. (Charter schools are public schools that operate on their own and are relieved of most government regulations, except those pertaining to health, safety, and racial discrimination.)

"This would strap the money to the backs of children," Cherny writes, "instead of giving it to the schools, forcing public schools to compete against one another for students and the funds they bring with them. This force of competition would compel all schools to get better."

Why is making every public school a charter school attractive? For liberals and Democrats who acknowledge that big-city schools have failed, universal charters do not take money away from existing public schools but rather reorganize those schools in a less bureaucratic way. Also, charters have long been endorsed in principle, though often treated skeptically in practice, by both labor unions and leading Democratic figures. **Labor unions might like universal charters because existing schools, where unions are already established, could be turned into charter schools** and the unions would thus be more influential than they are when charter schools are started from scratch. Labor unions would also prefer universal charters to universal vouchers, which would be redeemable in both public and private schools.

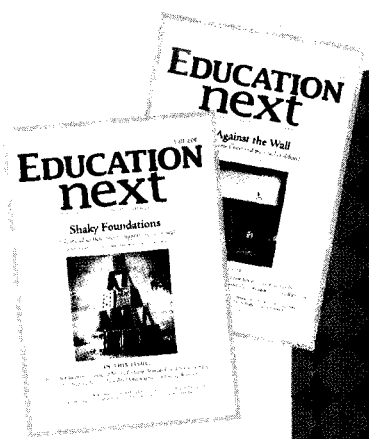
Universal charters are perhaps more attractive to New Democrats than to conservatives and libertarians. But some conservatives would like the increased opportunities for children and choices for parents, whereas some libertarians would like the fact that universal charters do not entangle existing private schools in government money and regulations.

Obviously, many details need to be worked out: Who would decide when to build new charter schools and when to make capital improvements? Would state, county, and local boards of education act as chartering agencies? What kind of accountability would there be for this multitude of charter schools? Through what procedure would a failing charter school be shut down?

In 2002, Cherny ran for the Democratic nomination for a California State Assembly seat. He lost his primary race by eleven percentage points in a campaign in which special interest groups opposed him, in part because of his innovative ideas on school reform. Cherny's own political career may have suffered a setback, but the need for school improvement has not gone away. Something drastic has to be done to help children trapped in failing big-city schools.

— *Bill Evers*

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.



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